

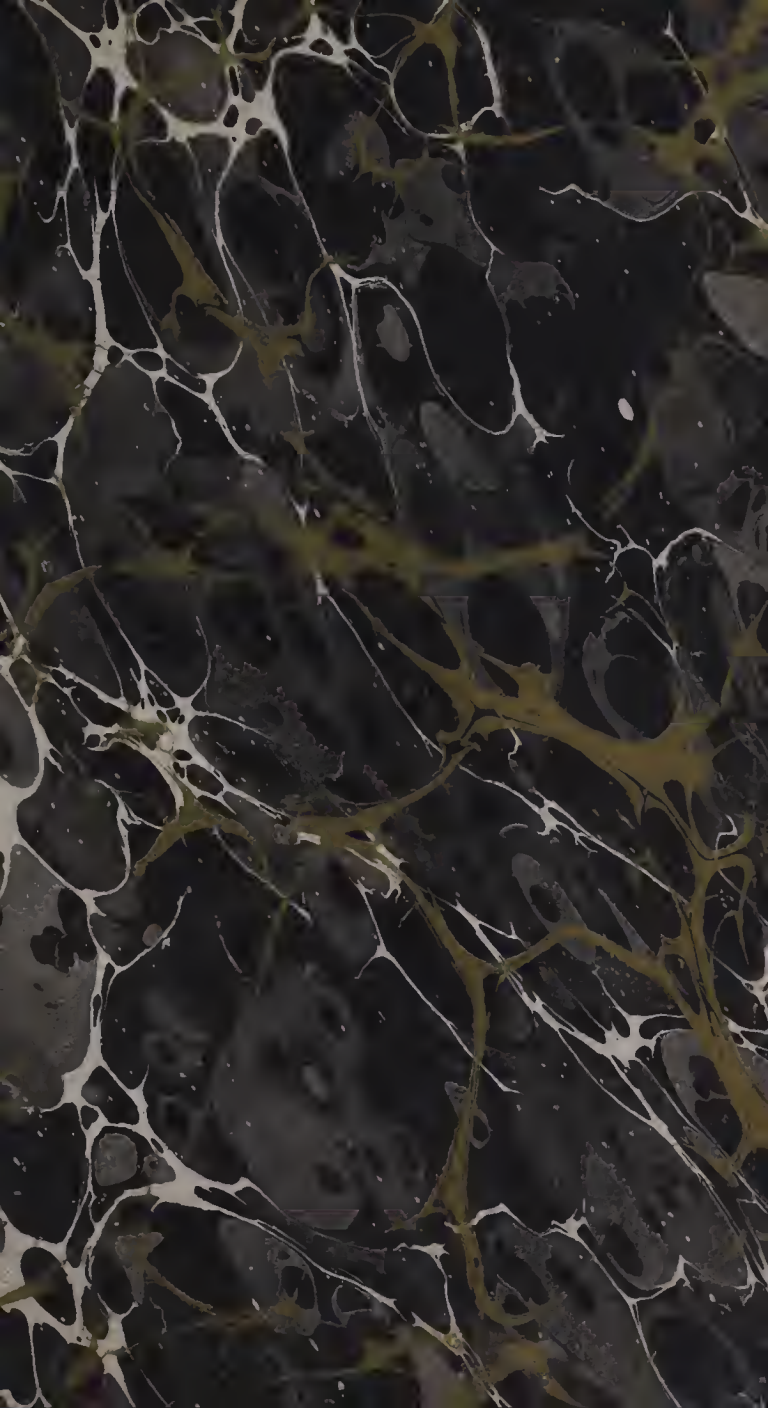
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Col. Von Schill.

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L I F E

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

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### CHAPTER I.

*Introductory Remarks.—Further Observations on the Treaty of Tilsit.—The Address of the Arch-Chancellor of the French Empire on laying the Two Treaties before the Senate, which had been concluded between Russia and Prussia.—The President, M. Lacépède's Reply, after the Reading of the same.—Offer of Mediation on the Part of Russia.—Lord Hutchinson's Conversation with the Emperor Alexander on that Subject.—Danish Expedition.—Admiral Gambier's and Lord Cathcart's Operations at Copenhagen, and joint Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Zealand.—Declaration of the Court of Denmark.—Spirited Answer of the Crown Prince to Mr. Jackson, the British Minister.—General Peyman's heroic and dignified Answer to the Summons from the British Commanders to surrender.*

WE have already observed, that the Life of Buonaparté, is, not the mere biographical sketch of an isolated individual: connected as it has been, and as it is, with the revolutions of empires, and downfall of kingdoms; the prominent events of Europe, and of the civilized world, are alike included in the

history of this extraordinary Personage, whose progressive acts of conquest and aggrandizement, still continue to excite the curiosity, and to interest the feelings of all mankind. We are, therefore, led (however strongly such a Life may be marked in the opinion of many, for its insatiate ambition, and thirst of universal power and dominion), to protract its narrative much beyond the usual limits of a less renowned character, and to record the glowing features and principles, of its civil, military, and political career.

It is only in the changeful, and to *him successful* scenes of continental warfare, as well as in the wide extended range of his artful and political intrigue, that we are, in the least, able to penetrate into the deep recesses of so complex and intricate a character as that of Napoleon Buonaparté, in whose public history we have thus far proceeded, and whose general conduct it is our intention further to portray, with the same unremitting attention to truth and impartiality, as we flatter ourselves we have already evinced in the preceeding volumes of this Work.

Whatever may relate to the subject of our continued history, we shall not hesitate to develope, with the utmost fidelity to facts, confident that the best services we can render the present age, and even posterity, is equally to avoid the overstrained eulogies of those, who see in all his actions nothing to disapprove, as well as to shun the narrow prejudices of such who consider him, in every point of view, destitute of all the virtues of a noble mind.

Since the conclusion of our last Volume, many new events have sprung forth, that cannot but be

highly interesting to our readers. The genius of Buonaparté still continues, as it has hitherto done, to dazzle some, and to annoy others. His good fortune in the earnest, and incessant pursuit of his military achievements, seems, in no instance, to have forsaken him; while in the train of his adversaries and opponents, we can scarcely perceive any thing short of defeat, humiliation, and disgrace.

The Imperial eagle of France still retains all her proud plumage, while those of Russia, and of Austria, hold only a secondary rank in the scale of empire, by their forced obedience to her will; and we might even add, that she presides over their destinies, since these unfortunate, and almost conquered sovereigns, appear unable, or unequal, to choose for themselves.

The treaty of Tilsit, with which we concluded our last Volume, and on which we shall indulge some retrospective remarks, has yielded no pacific terms in favor of England, that its government, thought proper to accept, although it professed to secure to them that desirable object, through the mediation of the Emperor of Russia. We have therefore, to lament, that the sword of British valor still remains unsheathed against the combined forces of Europe, several of whom have deserted her, and united themselves to France, notwithstanding the many millions it has cost the British nation to purchase their friendship and co-operation. What, alas! has proved the fruits of her subsidizing measures to reduce the overwhelming power and influence of Buonaparté? Has not the gigantic strides of his conquests, and of his subjugating force, been increased and even accelerated by the very means

it has employed to reduce and frustrate them? not a guinea has England furnished to those Sovereigns whose battles she has fought, but what has, eventually, found its way into the public or private coffers of the French Emperor. Yet they continue to amuse themselves with vain projects and idle delusions.

But we will now proceed to the more regular series of public events, as interwoven with the subject of our history.

No sooner was the treaty of Tilsit ratified and exchanged between the Emperor of France and Russia, than the latter commenced his overtures as a mediator between his Britannic Majesty, and the French Emperor; but under such circumstances as served, in some measure, to awaken the most lively suspicions on the part of their ministers, that these overtures were only intended to trick them into some renewed negotiations for a general peace, which, like all their former ones, would end in disappointment. It was well known that the Emperor of Russia had himself, unfortunately, retired from the contest after two years perseverance in the war, without any of the *laurels of victory*; although he has not been so great a sufferer, perhaps, by the treaty of Tilsit, as his ally, the King of Prussia, whose conquered dominions, on the part of France, have been, in a certain portion, transferred to his possession by Buonaparté; and which he accepted, notwithstanding his plighted oath of friendship, to his Prussian Majesty over the tomb of Frederic the Great; an act that cannot fail to sully his royal reputation, even in the estimation of his own subjects.

By the cession of the Prussian territory, Buona-

parté has accomplished a most important object. He has not only curtailed that once puissant kingdom of its future means of annoyance, but has purchased, with her dismemberment, the friendship and alliance of Russia; nor is this all the advantage the superiority of his arms have acquired for him on this occasion. His brother, Jerome Buonaparté has, also, as King of Westphalia, gained a further accession of territory and regal sway, while the domains of Saxony have reverted back to her antient dukedom, under the new sovereignty of its present king, together with the Duchy of Warsaw.

On the 25th of July, 1807, the Prince Arch-chancellor of the Empire laid the two treaties before the Senate, accompanied with the following Speech:

“GENTLEMEN.

“The rapidity of the conquests, obtained by his Majesty the Emperor and King, offer the most certain indications of a glorious peace.

“Our hopes have been fulfilled by the two treaties which I have laid before you; it was his Majesty’s wish that they should not be made public before this communication had taken place.

“The senate will gratefully acknowledge his Majesty’s prudence in withholding the treaties hitherto, and will consider it as a new proof of the respect entertained by our illustrious Prince, for our laws and customs, and of his zeal for their support.

“Among the grand events which these political negotiations will produce, there is one by which your lively feelings will be affected. As you are so firmly attached to the glory of the Imperial Dynasty, how great must be your gratification, gentlemen, to behold the constant increase of its lustre, raising a young Prince to the throne of Westphalia, whose wisdom and courage have lately been so conspicuous in military exploits!

“You will find in this stipulation, as well as in the others contained in those treaties, the constant attention of the founder of the empire, to confirm the grand system, of which he has laid the foundation.

“Your hearts will hail with joy the conceptions of a genius, who is the friend of humanity, and whose view and cares are solely directed to the object of preventing the effusion of human blood.

“The continent may, at length, congratulate itself on the acquisition of a stable peace. The memorable conferences, which

have taken place on the banks of the Niemen, are the pledges of a durable tranquillity. The relations of esteem and confidence which have been established between the Sovereigns of the two most powerful nations of Europe, afford us a guarantee, against which all the attempts of rancour and jealousy shall henceforth prove abortive."

After the treaties had been read, the President, M. Lacepede, replied as follows:—

"SIR,—The reading of the two treaties, which his Majesty the Emperor and King has been pleased to communicate through your highness, have occasioned the senate to experience new feelings of the most lively astonishment and gratitude.

"After so rich a harvest of glory; after so many prodigies, and so many multiplied acts of benevolence, the senate feels more than ever the necessity of offering its homage and its devotion to his Imperial Majesty.

"The senate is sensible that, in common with all the French, they will partake of the good fortune of enjoying the inestimable presence of the greatest of Monarchs. Till that period, days, hours, and even moments, are ages of just impatience.

"I therefore demand, senators, first that you shall confirm the signing of the treaty with Russia, and treaty with Prussia, in his name.

"Secondly, that a special committee shall be charged to prepare and deliver an address, expressive of those feelings of affection and loyalty with which the senate are so deeply penetrated."

Both the propositions of senator Lacepede were unanimously adopted

The committee charged with preparing the address consisted of his eminence Cardinal Fesch, the senators Lacepede, Monge, Laplace, and Semonville. On Monday the 27th. inst. they delivered their report.

Consistently with the orders transmitted by his Majesty the Emperor and King, to his Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, and the Heralds at Arms, were ordered to proclaim the signing of peace with Russia and Prussia at Paris. This proclamation was made with great solemnity by the Heralds at Arms, on the 24th in the afternoon, at five o'clock. The



Heralds were on horseback, and accompanied by a great number of troops.

The concourse of people on this occasion was uncommonly great: the public joy was manifested by the most lively feelings, and the repeated acclamations of "Long live the Emperor."

A general illumination took place in the evening.

Such was the joyful sensations, such the patriotic effusions afforded by the negotiations at Tilsit, to the Senate and inhabitants of the French empire. How differently were those tidings received by the English nation. Their former magnanimous ally the Emperor of Russia, was execrated for having betrayed the dearest interest of his country, in his abandonment of theirs. Even before it was known what steps he had taken to abridge the horrors of war, and exclude its further depopulating ravages from the confines of his own empire, the public prints, and their ministerial supporters, considered him as having sold himself to Buonaparté. Whatever was treacherous, selfish, mean, and ignoble, were included in the epithets with which he was, then honoured.

The professed mediation on the part of Russia to adjust the contest and dispute with France, was officially communicated to the British government on the 1st of August, in a Note from M. Alopeus, the Russian Ambassador, to Mr. Canning; in which, after adverting to the Treaty of Peace concluded at Tilsit, on the 7th of July, between Russia and France, it proceeds to state, "That his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, having on that occasion proposed his mediation for the purpose of negotiating and concluding also a Treaty of Peace between

England and France, and which had been accepted by the Emperor Napoleon, the object of the present Note was to offer it in the like manner to his Majesty the King of Great Britain.

“Knowing the pacific sentiments of his Britannic Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, flattered himself the more, that he will embrace this opportunity of restoring peace to all nations, and of insuring repose to the present generation. His Imperial Majesty, from the conversations he had held with the Emperor of the French, had reason to be convinced that he was sincerely desirous of the re-establishment of a Maritime Peace, upon equitable principles.

It also farther adds “that the Emperor of all the Russias, not only offers his interposition for the attainment of so desirable a result; but would even be ready to promise the support of all the forces of his empire, for *insuring the performance* of all the stipulations of peace, when once it shall have taken place between England and France. By this Guarantee, his Britannic Majesty will obtain that which he has ever appeared to desire, and may, without distrust, follow the bent of his humane and pacific sentiment.”

On the 5th inst. Mr. Canning, on the behalf of the British government, replied to the foregoing communication as follows: “That he has it in command from the King his master, to declare, that the Emperor of Russia does justice to the sentiments of the King, when his Imperial Majesty expresses his reliance on the King’s disposition to contribute to the restoration of a general peace, such as may ensure the repose of Europe. That proofs of this

disposition have recently been afforded by his Majesty in the answer returned to the offer of the mediation of the Emperor of Austria, as well as in his Majesty's willingness to accede to the convention concluded at Bartenstein, on the 23d of April, between the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia; and also in the instructions given to his Majesty's Ambassador at the court of St. Petersburg, after the disastrous events in Poland, by which instructions that Ambassador was directed to signify to the ministers of the Emperor of Russia, his Majesty's readiness to enter in concert with his august ally, into any negotiation which the Emperor of Russia might think it expedient to open for a general peace. These sentiments, and this disposition, his Majesty continues invariably to maintain.

“ His Majesty, therefore, waits with the utmost solicitude for the communication of the Articles of the Treaty concluded at Tilsit, and for the statement of those equitable and honourable principles, upon which his Imperial Majesty expresses his belief that France is desirous of concluding a peace with Great Britain.

“ His Majesty trusts that the *character of the stipulations* of the Treaty of Tilsit, and the principles upon which France is represented as being ready to negotiate, may be found such as to afford a just hope of the attainment of a secure and honourable peace. In that case his Majesty will readily avail himself of the offer of the Emperor of Russia's mediations. But until his Majesty shall be in possession of these important and necessary communications, a more specific answer to the Note, presented by M. Alopeus, cannot at present be returned.”

From this letter we may clearly perceive that his Majesty's ministers were not very desirous to avail themselves of any *prospects* of a peace founded on the preceeding overture of mediation; and which, though they did not positively reject, they found ample means to evade. They contended they could not listen to any offers of a pacific nature, that appeared to them in so questionable a shape; and somewhat arrogantly insisted that all the secret stipulations, connected with the Treaty of Tilsit, should be first fully made known and explained to them, notwithstanding it had, in some measure, been satisfactorily ascertained, through the personal conversations of Lord Hutchinson with the Emperor of Russia, that the secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit, in which his Imperial faith was pledged to Buonaparté, that they contained nothing inimical to the real dignity and interest of England.

In one of these conversations to which we allude, his Imperial Majesty declared, he had offered his mediation to England, not from any motive of false vanity, but from a sincere and anxious wish, that *England should make peace*; as he was sure, *that it was his interest*, and also that of *Europe, and theirs*, that we should restore tranquility to the world. Lord Hutchinson then observed, that his Imperial Majesty had not given sufficient time for England to accept or reject his mediation, because a much longer period than a month must elapse, before any answer could be received; and though the disposition of his own mind inclined towards peace, he could not accept of it, but on conditions the most reasonable and honourable.

• To this his Imperial Majesty made answer, that the time allowed was of no importance, because we

might take three or four months if we pleased to accept or reject his mediation, but his anxious wish and desire was, that we should make peace. That he had a perfect knowledge of the feelings and character of the people of England; that he had been made acquainted by *Buonaparté with the conditions of peace proposed to be offered*, and that he had no doubt that they would be considered highly reasonable and honourable."

Some conferences of a more confidential nature followed, which his Lordship did not feel himself at liberty to disclose; but from what had passed, and what he had already stated, he felt justified in believing that the relations of peace and amity, might have been preserved between the two countries.

But another event soon occurred, that quickly extinguished every hope of peace, and changed even the friendly disposition of the Emperor of Russia towards England, into the most hostile sentiments and measures. We mean the result of their blood stained Expedition to Copenhagen, which has been as much reprobated by the generous feelings of the British nation at home, as it has been execrated by their enemies abroad.

The causes of this expedition can only be sought in the folly and wildness of their ministerial conjectures; that a plan had been secretly devised by Buonaparté, in the Treaty of Tilsit, for the seizure of the Danish Fleet, for the purpose of invading Great Britain and Ireland; a plan we have not sufficient faith to give any credit to, since it can in no obvious, or even latent direction, be traced.

The British Government, however, thought

proper and expedient to frustrate this imaginary *plan*, and to wrest from the hands of the unsuspecting Danes, every possible means of annoyance, as well as of their own self-defence.

In this highly, honourable, and meritorious service Admiral Gambier, with a powerful squadron, consisting of 195 sail, including transports, and Lieutenant General Lord Cathcart, with a suitable number of land forces\*, were dispatched about the middle of July to the Baltic, and arrived off Elsineur about the 14th of August, when arrangements were made for the disembarkation of their troops, which was effected on the morning of the 16th, at Wybeck, a village about midway between Elsineur and Copenhagen.

To convince the inhabitants of Zealand, that the sudden appearance of a British fleet, and army, before their Capital, was only dictated by the apprehensions their government had been led to entertain of the designs of Buonaparté and of his increased confederacy with the continental powers, since the treaties of Tilsit; as well as to demonstrate their *modest and pacific intentions* in only claiming the surrender of the Danish Navy, as an hostage for preserving and adhering to its former neutrality, these com-

\* The English forces under Admiral Gambier, Rear Admiral J. Stanhope, and Commodore Sir Samuel Hood, consisted of the following ships of the line. Prince of Wales, 98 guns; Pompee, Centaur, Alfred, Ganges, Capain, Goliath, Orion, Hercules, Vanguard, Spencer, Brunswick, and Maido, of 74 guns; Nassau, Dictator, and Ruby, of 64 guns; eight frigates, 13 sloops of war, and one bomb vessel. The second division, under Admiral Russell, consisting of the following ships of the line; Minotaur, Majestic, Mars, Defence, Resolution, and Valiant, of 74 guns; the Cayenne of 22 guns; Hussar of 38 guns, and five brigs.

The land forces consisted of the German Legion, having about 10 regiments each of 2,000 men, a corps of rifle men, a brigade of Guards of 2,400 men; 8 companies of Artillery, about 15 regiments of the line, giving a total of 27,000 men.



manders, Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart, jointly issued the following,

### PROCLAMATION :

“Whereas the present treaties of peace, and the changes of government and of territory, acceded to by so many powers, have so far increased the influence of France on the continent of Europe, as to render it impossible for Denmark, though it desires to be neutral, to preserve its neutrality, and absolutely necessary for these who continue to resist French aggression, to take measures to prevent the arms of neutral powers from being turned against them:—In this view, the King cannot regard the present position of Denmark with indifference; and his Majesty has sent negotiators, with ample powers, to his Danish Majesty, to request in the most amicable manner, such explanations as the times require, and a concurrence in such measures as can alone give security against the farther mischiefs which the French meditate through the acquisition of the Danish navy. The King, our royal and most gracious master, has therefore, judged it expedient to desire the temporary deposit of the Danish ships of the line in one of his Majesty’s ports.—This deposit seems to be so just and so indispensibly necessary, under the relative circumstances of the neutral and belligerent powers, that his Majesty has further deemed it a duty to himself, and to his people, to support this demand by a powerful fleet, and by an army amply supplied with every preparation necessary for the most active and determined enterprize, —We come, therefore, to your shores, inhabitants of Zealand! not as enemies, but in self-defence; to prevent those who have so long disturbed the peace of Europe, from compelling the force of your navy to be turned against us.—We ask deposit, we have not looked to capture; so far from it, the most solemn pledge has been offered to your government, and is hereby renewed in the name, and at the express command of the King our master, that if our demand is amicably acceded to, every ship belonging to Denmark shall, at the conclusion of a general peace, be restored to her, in the same condition and state of equipment, as when received under the protection of the British flag.—It is in the power of your government, by a word, to sheath our sword, most reluctantly drawn against you; but if, on the other hand, the machinations of France render you deaf to the voice of reason and the call of friendship, the innocent blood that will be spilt, and the horrors of a besieged and a bombarded capital, must fall on your own heads, and on those of your cruel advisers.—His Majesty’s seamen and soldiers, when on shore, will treat Zealand, as long as your conduct to them permits it, on the footing of a province of the most friendly power in alliance with Great Britain, whose territory has the misfortune to be the theatre of war.—The persons of all those who remain at home, and who do not take an hostile part, will be held sacred.—Property will be respected and preserved and

the most severe discipline will be enforced.—Every article of supply furnished or brought to market, will be paid for at a fair and settled price; but as immediate and constant supplies, especially of provision, forage, fuel, and transports, are necessary to all armies, it is well known that requisitions are unavoidable, and must be enforced.—Much inconvenience will arise to the inhabitants, and much confusion and loss to them will be prevented, if persons in authority are found in the several districts to whom requisitions may be addressed and through whom, claims for payment may be settled and liquidated.—If such persons are appointed, and discharge their duty without meddling in matters which do not concern them, they shall be respected, and all requisitions shall be addressed to them, through the proper channels, and departments of the navy and army; but as forbearance, on the part of the inhabitants, is essential to the principle of these arrangements, it is necessary that all manner of civil persons should remain at their respective habitations; and any peasants, or other persons, found in arms, singly, or in small troops, or who may be guilty of any act of violence, must expect to be treated with vigour.

“The government of his Danish Majesty having hitherto refused to treat this matter in an amicable way, part of the army has been disembarked, and the whole force has assumed a warelike attitude; but it is as yet not too late for the voice of reason and moderation to be heard.”

The sensations produced on the minds and feelings of the *noble Danes*, by the foregoing proclamation, may be easily conceived by those, who have not yet learnt to mingle insult, with a just sense of commiseration—so every way due to their sufferings. Even the gothic ages of barbarism, can scarcely furnish a parallel to the unprovoked outrage committed, by the authority of the British government, on the rights of an independant and unoffending nation. They proposed to approach the shores of Zealand, *not as enemies*, while they had previously armed themselves, with every devastating means, to accomplish, if necessary, to their *anticipated fears*, its total destruction.

The declaration which followed on the part of Denmark we cannot here omit, as it is replete with that justice and energy which are the characteristics

of a brave but injured people; and what will tend more fully to illustrate the subject before us.

### DANISH DECLARATION.

“All Europe is acquainted with the system which Denmark has followed, during a period of fifteen years of war and disturbance, with unceasing perseverance. The rigid observance of a free and impartial neutrality, and the conscientious fulfilment of all the duties belonging thereunto, have formed the object of all its wishes and all its efforts. The Danish government, in its relations and connections with other states, has never lost sight of that simplicity, which was inseparable from the purity of its sentiments and its love of peace, and which it cannot be suspected of having once changed or debilitated. Hitherto Providence has blessed our undertakings. Without injustice, without any ground of reproach from any of the other powers, we succeeded in keeping up a good understanding with the whole of them. This state of peace and tranquillity is suddenly annihilated. The English government, after having long neglected its own interest by a shameful inactivity, and after having betrayed its allies into a vexatious and uncertain struggle, has suddenly developed all its power and activity to attack a neutral and peaceable state, without any complaint against the same. The means for dissolving the ancient and sacred connections which united Denmark to Great Britain, have been prepared with as much secrecy as promptitude. The Danish government saw the English ships of war upon their coast, without even the conjecture that they were to be employed against Denmark! The island of Zealand was surrounded, the capital threatened, and the Danish territory violated and injured, before the court of London had made use of a single word to express the hostility of its feelings. This hostility however, soon became evident: Europe will with difficulty believe what it will hear! The basest, the most violent and cruel object which could ever have been taken up, has no other foundation than some pretended information, or rather that of a mere rumour of an attempt, which, according to the English ministry, was to have taken place, in order to draw Denmark into an hostile alliance against Great Britain.

“Upon these pretended grounds, which the least degree of discussion immediately would have shewn as being founded on arbitrary measures alone, the English government declared to the court of Denmark, in the most imperious manner, that in order to secure its own interests, and to provide for its own safety, it could leave Denmark no other choice than a war, or a close alliance with Great Britain. And what kind of alliance did they offer? An alliance, the first guarantee of which, as a pledge of the subjection of Denmark, was to have delivered up all her ships of war to the British government. There could be no hesitation

as to the alternative that was to be adopted. This opening being made, as scandalous in its offers as in its menaces—as offensive in the manner as in the things itself—left no room for negotiation. The most justifiable and rooted disdain naturally absorbed every other feeling. Placed between danger and dishonour, the Danish government had no choice. The war commenced; Denmark was by no means blind to the dangers, to the losses, with which she was threatened by this war. Attacked in the most unexpected and dishonourable manner, exposed in a separate province, and in a manner cut off from all means of defence, and forced into an unequal contest, she could not flatter herself with escaping a very material injury. Unspotted honour, however, still remained for her to defend, as well as that reputation which she had earned as the price of her upright conduct. Denmark, therefore, flatters herself that, on the part of the powers of Europe, she will not appeal in vain. Let impartial cabinets judge whether England was under the political necessity of sacrificing another state, without hesitation, to her own safety, a state which had neither offended nor provoked her. Depending upon the justice of her cause, trusting in Providence, and in the love and loyalty of the people to a prince, whose mild sceptre, under Providence, is swayed over a united, brave, and faithful people, the Danish government flatters itself that it will be able to acquit itself without weakness, of the hard and painful task which has been imposed upon it by necessity. The government of Denmark believes it has a right to reckon upon the interest and justice of the cabinets of Europe, and they particularly hope for the efforts of the same on the part of those illustrious sovereigns, whose object and alliances have served the English for a pretext, and to give a colour to the most crying act of injustice, and whose object is to offer to England the means of making a general atonement for an act of violence, which, even in England, every noble and generous mind will disown; which deforms the character of a virtuous sovereign, and will ever remain a scandal in the annals of Great Britain.”

In the meanwhile every possible endeavour was used by our envoy, Mr. Jackson, with the Prince Royal of Denmark, to get him to accede, without any compulsive forces, to the *moderate propositions* of the British Government, to deposit his navy in some British port, on the pledged security of their faith to restore it, whenever a general peace should take place. His answer to such a demand, was equally dignified and spirited: “History,” said he, “has afforded no example of such an unjust attack

as that with which Denmark is threatened, and that in future more good faith would be expected from the Algerine pirates" than from the English government.

"You propose an alliance," said the Prince, but we are too well acquainted with the nature of your alliances, your allies who have been waiting, in vain, for your assistance throughout the whole year, have taught us what we have to expect from your alliances." All attempts, therefore, at an amicable negociation for the *surrender* of the *Danish Navy* having failed, the British Minister demanded, and received his passport.

It appears by the Danish accounts, that on the landing of the British troops at Zealand, not a ship was rigged, and that most of the crews were on leave of absence, while the major part of their army was in Holstein. Their regular force, consisting only of 200 dragoons, 10 hussars, 300 artillery and 3,000 infantry. The militia amounted to 2,000, of the armed burghers 400 were yagers, 1,200, artillery and 2,000 infantry. A force scarcely sufficient to defend the town; and which could, by no means, oppose the landing of the enemy. On the 16th of August a flag of truce was received from Major-General Peyman, commander-in-chief in Copenhagen, requesting passports for the two princesses, nieces to his Danish Majesty, to go from Copenhagen to Colding, which were granted.

"17th.—At day-break the army marched by their right in three columns to invest the town, two brigades of the German legion remaining at Charlottenford to cover the disembarkation of the cavalry and park artillery.—The princesses of Denmark



came out of the city on their route to Colding, and were received with the honours due to their rank by the brigade of Guards, near the palace of Fredericksberg. The picquets of the left, towards the town, were attacked about noon, at the same time the enemy's gun-boats rowed out of the harbour, and cannonaded the left of the line with grape and round shot. The picquets drove in and pursued the enemy and resumed their posts.

"18th.—At day-break the gun boats renewed the attack upon the gun brigs, trusting to the superior weight of their guns. The latter having during the night exchanged their carronades for eighteen-pounders, the gun boats retired, but advanced again with increased numbers; after cannonading for some time, they were driven in, together with their field pieces, which had advanced upon the road.

"19th.—The works carried on by parties of 600 men, relieved every four hours. The gun boats attacked at day-break, but were driven off. Some of the pipes were discovered, which convey fresh water to the town from Emdrup. The frigates and gun brigs having a favourable breeze, took their station near the entrance of the harbour, within reach of throwing shells into the town.—Brigadier General Decken surprised and took the post of Frederickswerk, commanded by a major, aid-de-camp to the Crown Prince, who capitulated with 850 men and officers, with a foundery and depot of cannon and powder. His Danish Majesty's household, with part of his wardrobe, plate, wine, and books, were suffered to come out of the town to follow his Majesty, (who has withdrawn to Colding;) passports having been requested.

"20th.—Farther progress made in the works.—More ordnance landed and mounted. A patrol on the left having reported that a body of cavalry, with a corps of infantry in their rear, had been seen in front of Roesklide, Col. Røden sent a squadron to reconnoitre them, which found them assembled near that place, and immediately charged and put them to flight, leaving 16 or 18 men killed, 3 prisoners and 29 horses.—The dragoons pursued the enemy to the gates of Roesklide, where they were received by a heavy fire of infantry, and returned to their quarters.

"21st.—Lord Rosslyn's corps disembarked in the north part of Keoge bay, with two batteries of artillery.—Progress made in cutting off the water. Further arrangements made with the gentlemen of the country.—Passports granted to Prince Frederick Ferdinand of Denmark and his preceptor. Notice given that no more passports can be granted; and a recommendation urged to the Danish commander, to consider the dreadful consequences of making a capital city of such extent stand a siege and bombardment like an ordinary fortress.

"Aug. 23d.—The battery on the left wing of the army (which is calculated to defend its advance from the annoyance of gun boats) being completed and mounted with thirteen 24 pounders,



the construction of mortar batteries, under cover of the above, are in progress. The enemy observing these movements appeared yesterday to be collecting their praams and gun boats near the harbour's mouth, in preparation for a powerful attack on our works. Our advanced squadron continuing in their position for defending the operations on shore, were about 10, A. M. attacked by 3 praams (carrying each 20 guns) and a considerable number of gun boats, (said to be more than 30) in addition to the fire from the Crown battery, floating batteries, and block ships, which was continued for more than four hours. The fire was returned with great spirit from the squadron, and some attempts were made to throw Mr. Congreve's rockets, but the distance was too great to produce much effect from them. About two P. M. the gun brigs, which were farthest advanced, not being able to make any impression against so vast a force, were ordered to retire, and the firing ceased. I am happy to find the squadron received no material injury. We have, however, to regret the loss of Lieutenant John Woodford, of the *Cruizer*, with 4 men killed in the several vessels, and 13 wounded. On the part of the enemy, it is believed, that one gun boat has been disabled or sunk, and one of the praams was observed to be towed out of the action disabled. The new battery at the Mill opened, and did considerable execution. [Highly commends the bravery and vigilance of the officers and crews.]

"24th.—Having occasion to confer with Lieutenant-General Cathcart, commanding the army, respecting the co-operation of the fleet, I went on shore to head-quarters for that purpose. I learnt that the right wing of the army is advanced near to the town on the south west, and are preparing mortar batteries to commence the bombardment of it. The enemy being obliged to withdraw their out-posts in that quarter, have set fire to the suburbs to prevent them from affording cover to our troops. No attack has been made this day by the enemy's flotilla against our advanced squadron.

"25th.—Yesterday and to day the damage several of the gun brigs received on the 23d have been repaired and are again ready for service."

"On the 26th a slight skirmish took place, in which seven English men were made prisoners."

The recommendation urged to the Danish Commander, to consider the dreadful consequences of a siege and bombardment, was contained in a letter from Lord Cathcart to Major General Peyman, and is strongly enforced by the following severe menace: "If the city should determine to abide the horrors of a siege, then the same shall be annoyed by *every*

*possible méans of devastation.* As soon as orders shall be issued for this purpose, the officers who are entrusted with them, will no longer have any choice left, of exerting every means in their power to make themselves masters of the place. An assault made upon a place so full of men and treasure, must, in the issue involve the inhabitants in ruin, and the loss of their property, as an unavoidable consequence. Should Denmark refuse to join us in a friendly alliance, the most absolute orders are given by our Government to attack this city by land and sea. This summons was answered by General Peyman in the most heroic manner, in a letter written by him to the Crown Prince; in which he observes, "that the admonition and menaces contained in the summons are not unusual in similar circumstances; but if the *English* thought to make any impression on me, they have been strangely deceived. I shall defend myself to the utmost, and Copenhagen shall never fall into the hands of an enemy otherwise than by storm, even though the force brought against me was greater than the present. I shall endeavour to defend our honour, and end my days as a brave soldier, and your highnesses faithful servant."

A second summons from Lord Cathcart to the Danish General, called forth the following animated answer. "Our fleet, our own indisputable property, we are convinced is as safe in his Danish Majesty's hands as ever it can be in those of the King of England. If you are cruel enough to endeavour to destroy a city, that has not given the least cause of such treatment at your hands, it must submit to its fate; but honor and duty bid us reject a proposal



Frederick  
Crown Prince  
of  
Denmark.

Pub by M. J. n. 2.



unbecoming an independent power, and we are resolved to repel every attack, and to defend to the utmost, our city and our good cause; for which we are ready to lay down our lives. The only proposal in my power to make, in order to prevent the further effusion of blood, is to send to my Royal Master, to know his final determination with respect to the contents of your letter, if you will grant a passport for this purpose."



## CHAPTER II.

*Bombardment, Capitulation, and final Surrender of Copenhagen.—British Evacuation of it.—Buonaparté's Address to the Legislative Body.—Manifesto of his Excellency the Vice-roy of Peru, on the Capture of Buenos Ayres.—Defeat and Surrender of the British Forces at that Place.—Dispute between England and the American States, on the Attack of One of their Frigates, by a British Vessel, of superior Force.—The American President's Proclamation.—A New Constitution given to Poland by Buonaparté.—Acts of the Senate of Hayti, &c. &c.*

THE British Commanders having refused to suspend their hostile operations during the time requested by Major-General Peyman, on the 2d of September the bombardment commenced on three sides of the town, which a person, who was present at the horrid scenes, thus pathetically describes it: “about half past seven in the evening I heard the thunder of the mortars breaking out, and saw a large rocket, flying like an arrow through the streets, and killing in its way a poor innocent child, who stood at a window opposite my house; ‘Oh! Britain,’ I cried out in despair, ‘queen of nations! mother of such noble and manly sons! is this they work.’ The confusion was now general, people ran anxiously through the streets; the mother to her children, the father to his family, and every man on duty to his respective post.

“The shells fell in great numbers everywhere, the



The shells fell in great numbers everywhere, the rockets crossed through the gloomy air, the guns on the ramparts mixed their thunder with that of the British, and increased the echoing and dreadful noise. The fire broke out immediately in several places, but our fire engines being then in good order, it was soon extinguished; not less than 5,000 men were ready in the streets and other places, to prevent the increasing dangers of so menacing a conflagration. By this means, at first, the bombardment was not so detrimental to the houses, as it was fatal to the inhabitants. People were wounded and crushed to death, both in the streets and houses, and no one thought themselves secure even in the lowest cellar. About thirty houses were in flames, and the darkness of the night added much to the horror of this dreadful scene. At eight o'clock in the morning the bombardment ceased. On the 3d the Commandant issued a public paper, praising the activity and zeal of the police and firemen, and thanking them for their meritorious conduct.

"In the evening, at seven o'clock, the bombardment recommenced very feebly in the beginning, but increasing gradually, till towards the end of the night, when it became most alarming and dreadful. In the morning the king's barn, filled with hay, was on fire, and the fall of the shells was so terrible, that none could venture in the streets without danger of being killed. The fire had, hitherto, been extinguished in 64 different houses, public and private, by the indefatigable efforts of the firemen.

"During the second day's bombardment, a great many inhabitants, to secure their valuable effects

removed to Christianhaven, where they thought themselves in safety, as the shells had scarcely reached that town. Many also flew for refuge to the island of Amack. Rank and fortune sought no distinction, but all were mingled in one indiscriminate class of wretchedness. About a hundred persons lived together in one house at Christianhaven, and the miserable cottages of Amack gave shelter to several families of distinction. On the 4th the bombardment was renewed, and the timber yards of several merchants, of considerable value, was set on fire with red hot shot; the fire engines, and all their apparatus, was destroyed by the shells, as well as by the incessant use made of them; most of the firemen were killed and wounded, so that the town was entirely bereft of their assistance and defence. Those who had withdrawn to Christianhaven, finding that place also threatened with destruction, had to seek a further retreat. Every one now fled to the island of Amack, which, besides its own inhabitants, contained, at this time, about 30,000 strangers.

“In the course of three days the English threw 6,500 bombs into the town, besides an immense number of howitzers. Four hundred houses were laid in ashes, and scarcely any have escaped without some danger; had the bombardment continued one day longer, Copenhagen, and all it contained, would have been reduced to a blank in the map of the world. On the 7th, at eleven o'clock in the morning, after the most spirited attack on the part of the English, and obstinate and brave resistance on the part of the unfortunate Danes, a capitulation was agreed upon by the respective commanders.

“It is estimated that the private buildings which

were burnt during the bombardment of Copenhagen, were insured at the fire offices for above 2,400,000 rix-dollars or 500,000*l.* sterling. The principal public buildings which were totally or partly destroyed were, 1st. The Fredric Kirk, one of the finest churches in this country. It was built by Christian VI. after the great conflagration at Copenhagen, in the year 1728, and its dimensions were 300 feet in length and 50 in height. The steeple was 380 feet high, and contained an alarm bell which was 7 feet 2 inches in diameter, and weighed 11,962 pounds. In this church were many excellent monuments of marble; as the mausoleums of the celebrated admiral count Adellar, and count U. F. Gyldenlove. 2d. The houses belonging to the university, commonly called Studuguard, built at different times, and containing a cabinet of natural history, which latter has, fortunately, been saved. *Borrs* college, where sixteen students had rooms gratis; lastly, the Almshouse, which was a spacious building."

On the 16th of September, 1807, dispatches were received by the British Government, from Admiral Gambier and the Right Honorable Lord Cathcart, of the 7th and 8th instant, announcing the Capitulation and final surrender of Copenhagen, to the British force, under their command.

The former only briefly adverts to the vigorous exertions which had commenced for equipping, and sending to England, the Danish navy; while the latter, dilates with more triumphant satisfaction on the exploits their arms had achieved, in which many were led to believe they could not have been disgraced on *such an expedition*, had they even experienced the most ignoble defeat.

"It is fallen to my lot," says his Lordship, in his letter from the citadel of Copenhagen, "to have the great satisfaction of forwarding the ratified capitulation of the town and citadel of Copenhagen, and the surrender of the Danish fleet and arsenal in this port, which are placed at his Majesty's disposal. The object of securing this fleet having been attained, every other *provison*, of a tendency to wound the feelings or irritate the nation has been avoided, and although much havoc has been made by our bombardment and cannonade, not one shot was fired into the town, till the most advantageous terms had been offered; nor a single shot after the indication of a disposition to capitulate.

"The Danish General sent a letter on the 5th instant to propose an armistice of 24 hours, for preparing an *agreement*, on which Articles of Capitulation might be founded; but the *Armistice* was declined, as tending to unnecessary delay, and Colonel Murray was sent to explain that no proposals could be listened to unless accompanied by the surrender of the fleet. This basis having at length been admitted, Sir A. Wellesly, with Sir Home Popham, and Colonel Murray, were appointed to prepare and sign Articles of Capitulation. His Lordship further states, "that the town being in a state of the greatest ferment and disorder, I most willingly acceded to the request, that our troops should not be quartered in it, and that neither officers or soldiers should enter it for some days; and having the command of possession from the citadel, whenever it might be necessary to use it, I had no objection to leave the other gates, together with the police, in the hands of his Danish Majesty's troops. This letter, as usual, concludes with

the highest praises of the conduct of his Britannic Majesty's troops."

The loss of men sustained by the English in this enterprize, was comparatively small. The following is a list of the killed, wounded, and missing: Killed 4 officers 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 36 rank and file and 3 horses. Wounded, 6 officers, 1 serjeant, 138 rank and file, and 25 horses. Missing, 1 serjeant, 4 drummers, and 19 rank and file. In the returns made by Admiral Gambier, of the killed and wounded on board the advanced squadron, under his command, we only find 1 lieutenant and 3 seamen killed; and 1 lieutenant and 12 seamen and marines wounded.

We here subjoin the

#### ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION

For the town and citadel of Copenhagen, agreed upon between Major General the right Hon. Sir A. Wellesley, K. B. Sir Home Popham, Knight of Malta and Captain of the Fleet, and Lieut. Col. George Murray, Deputy Quarter Master General of the British Forces, being thereto duly authorised by James Gambier, Esq. Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's ships and vessels in the Baltic sea, and by Lieut. Gen. the right Hon. Lord Cathcart, Knight of the Thistle, Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Forces in Zealand and the North of the Continent of Europe, on the one part, and by Major General Walterstorff, Knight of the Order of Dannebrog, Chamberlain to the King, and Col. of the North Zealand Regiment of Infantry, Rear Admiral Lurken, and I. H. Kerchoff, Aid-du-camp to his Danish Majesty, being duly authorised by his Excellency Major General Peyman, Knight of the Order of Dannebrog, and Commander in Chief of his Danish Majesty's Forces in the Island of Zealand on the other part.

Art. I. When the capitulation shall have been signed and ratified, the troops of his Britannic Majesty are to be put in possession of the citadel.

Art. II. A guard of his Britannic Majesty's troops shall likewise be placed in the Dock Yards.

Art. III. The ships and vessels of war of every description, with all the naval stores belonging to his Danish Majesty, shall be delivered into the charge of such persons as shall be appointed by the commander in chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces, and

they are to be put in immediate possession of the Dock Yards and all the buildings and storehouses belonging thereto.

Art. IV. The store ships and transports in the service of his Britannic Majesty are to be allowed, if necessary, to come into the harbour for the purpose of embarking such stores and troops as they have brought into this island.

Art. V. As soon as the ships shall have been removed from the Dock Yard, or within six weeks from the date of this capitulation, or sooner, if possible, the troops of his Britannic Majesty shall deliver up the citadel to the troops of his Danish Majesty, in the state in which it shall be found when they occupy it. His Britannic Majesty's troops shall likewise, within the before mentioned time, or sooner, if possible, be embarked from the island of Zealand.

Art. VI. From the date of this capitulation, hostilities shall cease throughout the island of Zealand.

Art. VII. No person whatsoever shall be molested, and all property, public or private, with the exception of the ships and vessels of war, and the naval stores before mentioned, belonging to his Danish Majesty, shall be respected; and all civil and military officers in the service of his Danish Majesty shall continue in the full exercise of their authority throughout the Island of Zealand; and every thing shall be done which can tend to produce union and harmony between the two nations.

Art. VIII. All prisoners taken on both sides shall be unconditionally restored, and those officers who are prisoners on parole, shall be released from its effect.

Art. IX. Any English property that may have been sequestered in consequence of the existing hostilities, shall be restored to the owners.

This Capitulation shall be ratified by the respective commanders in chief, and the ratifications shall be exchanged before twelve o'clock at noon this day.

Done at Copenhagen, this 7th .  
day of September 1807.

(Signed)

ARTHUR WELLESLEY,  
HOME POPHAM,  
GEORGE MURRAY.  
PEYMAUN

Ratifié par moi (signée)

*A List of the Danish Ships and Vessels delivered up by the Capitulation of Copenhagen to his Majesty's Forces.*

Christian the Seventh, of 96 guns, built in 1803; Neptune, of 84 guns, built in 1789; Waldemaar, of 84 guns, built in 1799; Princess Sophia Frederica, of 74 guns, built in 1775; Justice, of 74 guns, built in 1777; Heir Apparent Frederick, of 74 guns, built in 1782; Crown Prince Frederick, of 74 guns, built in 1782; Fuen, of 74 guns, built in 1787; Oden, of 74 built in 1788; Three Crowns, of 74 guns, built in 1789; Skiold, of 74 guns, built in 1792; Crown Princess Maria, of 74 guns, built in



1791; Denmark, of 74 guns, built in 1794; Norway, of 74 guns, built in 1800; Princess Caroline, of 74 guns, built in 1805; Detmarsken, of 64 guns, built in 1780; Conqueror, of 64 guns, built in 1785; Mars, of 64 guns, built in 1784.—Frigates, Pearl, of 44 guns, built in 1804; Housewife, of 44 guns, built in 1789; Liberty, of 44 guns, built in 1793; Iris, of 44 guns, built in 1795; Rota of 44 guns, built in 1801; Venus, of 44 guns, built in 1805; Nyade, of 36 guns, built in 1796; Triton, of 28 guns, built in 1790; Frederigstein, of 28 guns, built in 1800; Little Belt, of 24 guns, built in 1801; St. Thomas, of 22 guns, built in 1779; Fylla, of 24 guns, built in 1802; Elbe, of 20 guns, built in 1800; Eyderen, of 20 guns, built in 1802; Gluckstadt, of 20 guns, built in 1804.—Brigs, Sarpe, of 18 guns, built in 1791; Glomen, of 13 guns, built in 1791; Ned Elven, of 18 guns, built in 1792; Mercure, of 18 guns, built in 1806; Courier, of 14 guns, built in 1801; Flying Fish, built in 1789.—Gun-Boats, Eleven with 2 guns in the bow; fourteen with 1 gun in the bow and one in the stern.

J. GAMBIER.

September 7. 1807.

In considering the British attack on Denmark, one thing cannot possibly escape us. Without viewing the unprovoked aggression on the part of England, in all its treacherous and disgraceful bearings; we must observe, that ever since Buonaparté had conquered Holland and had acted upon his decrees to exclude all English merchandize from the continent, it had been the unceasing object of the court of St. James's, to render the island of Zealand a *depôt* for British goods, and to make the Danish territory the medium of conveying them into France, Holland, and Germany.

Through this means, England possessed a very considerable export trade; and from the facilities afforded by the Danish market, for the rapid sale and extensive consumption of the various articles of her manufactures, it was estimated that her shipments to Copenhagen alone, constituted nearly one-seventh part of all her foreign commerce. How impolitic then to make war on Denmark, and to

sacrifice, by that means, so important an interest as had heretofore been enjoyed by her merchants.

Some discussions took place in the British house of commons respecting the shameful and unprofitable results of the above expedition. It was warmly contended, that ministers had no genuine information upon which they could ground such hostile proceedings, either in regard to the immediate or ultimate views of Denmark's uniting her forces, with any of the belligerent powers of the Continent. All, it was said that England had gained by that expedition, was about 16 hulls of ships of war, valued at  $\text{Sl.}$  per ton. Was this an object, worthy the sacrifices it has cost them; or has the dignity and gallant spirit of the British Nation, been any way enhanced by so *successful* an enterprize? Denmark has now thrown herself and her cause into the arms of France; and by a treaty offensive and defensive with Buonaparté, has now completely identified her interest with the most implacable foe to England.

As no sort of infraction of the capitulation, had been made by the Danes, who, on the contrary, had acted most honourable in the strict and literal fulfilment of their engagements, the British forces, conformably to the stipulation of their respective commanders, commenced their evacuation of Zealand on the 13th of October.

The embarkation of these troops went on progressively; until the evening of the 18th, when, in consequence of a gale of wind, which lasted twenty-four hours, they experienced some slight interruption. This produced some altercation between the Danish and British Generals, as the citadel was to be

delivered up on the 20th, but which it was deemed expedient, by the latter, to retain, fearing hostilities might recommence on the expiration of the term agreed upon. On that day, however, the British Adjutant was sent to the Danish head-quarters to acquaint the General he was at liberty to send a guard to take charge of the citadel, which was accordingly done. None of the Danish troops appeared on this occasion, and the final evacuation of the English was completed without the least irregularity or unpleasant disturbance.

The French official papers mentioned the English evacuation as a shameful flight, because, by means of the frost in November, it was stated, 20,000 Danes, and 30,000 French, would have entered that place.

We will now recal our reader's attention to some of the public and official proceedings of the French Emperor, who, shortly after his return to Paris, from the important scenes at Tilsit, went with the accustomed ceremonies, to the palace of the Legislative Body, to open the session, and thus addressed that assembly.

“Gentlemen, the deputies of the department to the legislative body—Gentlemen the tribunes and members of my council of state. Since your last sitting, new wars, new triumphs, and new treaties of peace, have changed the political face of Europe. If the house of Brandenburg, which was the first to conspire against our independence, still reigns, it owes it to the sincere friendship with which the powerful Emperor of the North, has inspired me. A French Prince will reign on the Elbe. He will know how to reconcile the interests of his new subjects, with his first and most sacred duties. The house of Saxony has recovered, at the end of fifty years, the independence which it had lost. The people of the Duchy of Warsaw, and the city of Dantzic, have recovered their country, and their rights. All nations unanimously rejoice to see the pernicious influence which England exercised over the continent irrevocably destroyed. France is united to the people of Germany by the laws of the Confederation of the Rhine—to

those of Spain, of Holland, of Switzerland, and of Italy, by the laws of our federative system. Our new connections with Russia are cemented by the reciprocal esteem of these two great nations. In all that I have done, I have solely had in view the happiness of my people, which is more dear to me than my own glory.

"I wish for a maritime peace. No resentment shall ever influence my determination. I can have none against a nation which is the sport and victim of the factions by which it is torn; and which is equally deceived with respect to the situation of its own affairs, as it is with respect to that of its neighbours. But whatever result the decrees of Providence have assigned to the maritime war, my people shall always find me the same; and I shall always find my people worthy of me

"Frenchmen, your conduct latterly, when your Emperor was removed upwards of five hundred leagues from you, has increased my esteem, and the opinion which I had conceived of your disposition. I felt a pride in being the first among you. If during these ten months of absence and danger your thoughts were turned to me, the proofs of affection which you have given me have constantly excited my warmest emotions. All my cares—every thing which related even to the preservation of my life, did not affect me, except on account of the interest that you felt for me, and the importance which they possibly might be of to your future destiny. *You are a good and a great people.* I have considered of different regulations to simplify and improve our institutions. The nation has felt the happy effects of the establishment of the Legion of Honour. I have created different imperial titles, to give new splendour to my principal subjects, to honour remarkable services by remarkable rewards, and thus to prevent the return of all feudal titles which are incompatible with our constitution—The accounts of my ministers of finance, and of the treasury, will explain to you the prosperous situation of our finances. My people will experience a considerable diminution in the land tax. My Minister of the Interior will acquaint you with the works which have been commenced, or finished; but what yet remains to be done is much more important; for it is my wish, that in every part of my empire, even in the smallest hamlet, the comfort of the inhabitants, and the value of the lands, may be increased by the effect of that general system of improvement which I intend. Gentlemen, the deputies of the departments to the Legislative Body, your assistance will be necessary to enable me to attain this great object; and I have a right to place constant reliance on it."

This speech produced the most lively enthusiasm; and his Majesty put an end to the sitting, amidst repeated cries of "*Long live the Emperor!*" The same acclamations were heard in all the streets through which his Majesty passed on his return.

The march of the troops, in resorting to the church of Notre-Dame, along the streets and public places, decorated with all that taste and elegance could unite, the innumerable crowd of spectators, their unanimous acclamations, the splendour of their dresses, the pomp of their equipages, the number and beauty of the troops; all these circumstances united, offered the spectacle of the most beautiful triumph of which modern Europe can boast.

Never, perhaps, was the public joy manifested in France in a manner more general or more ingenious. —At every step, emblems and inscriptions expressed, in a manner the most happy, the sentiments of love and admiration with which all France is penetrated for the great man who honours and governs it.

The artificial fire-works executed on the bridge of Concorde. terminated this superb fête in a manner the most brilliant. The crowd then visited the illuminations: those of the Thuilleries, of the Luxembourg, of the Palace of Justice, of the hotel of the Minister of Police, successively attracted the attention of the curious; but it was to the illuminations of the Palace Royal that the general preference was given.

While these events were passing in Europe, others of a no less interesting nature were passing in the new world. We mean the British expedition to Buenos Ayres. Here a novel field of enterprize had been marked out by the industrious efforts of a few speculative adventurers; who, with a view to enrich themselves, had betrayed their own government into an unsuccessful attempt to conquer South America.



They had already vainly imagined themselves in the almost certain possession of the mines of Peru, and had projected a plan for the supposed improvement of its Spanish settlers, under the most promising advantages to the interest of Great Britain; but no sooner did they commence their hostile schemes to effect its conquest, than they experienced a melancholy defeat, attended with a very considerable loss of both men and treasure. To shew of what temper the Peruvians were, and how very little inclined they felt to be united, in any way, with England, or her cause, we shall here introduce the Manifesto of the Vice-Roy of that country, with respect to the operations of the British Government.

#### MANIFESTO

*Of his Excellency the Vice-Roy of Peru, on the capture of Buenos Ayres, by the English.*

“Although I am convinced, the perusal of the three proclamations, published at the city of Buenos Ayres by the English General Beresford, must have filled with indignation the breasts of all his Majesty’s loyal subjects, and particularly of those who enjoy the happiness of inhabiting this metropolis, so much favoured and distinguished by our Sovereigns; yet I cannot refrain from indulging myself in pointing out to my countrymen, the venom hidden under the hypocritical professions of the enemy, therein contained, for which purpose, without recurring to any other arguments, I shall confine myself solely to a retrospect of the recent atrocious conduct, observed by that nation in every quarter of the globe. Years after years have set in and passed, during which all Europe has witnessed the English government using every means it can invent, for cementing and propagating its detestable tyranny, availing itself of every circumstance favouring such a purpose; stooping to practices the most vile and infamous, setting aside the most sacred principles of the rights of men, and trampling upon all the uscs and customs, for many ages universally received and observed amongst civilized nations. Far from proceeding, either in carrying on war or negotiating peace, with that noble frankness and good faith, the characteristics of nations generous and brave; it recurs to dark artifices of fiction and seduction, to dazzle and corrupt the unwary, who are weak enough to trust and confide in its perfidious promises. Such is the object of the three proclamations which I have mentioned; to lull to sleep the understanding of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, with



hopes of an imaginary happiness; to blindfold them, that they may not perceive the abyss of evil which surrounds them; to cover, as with a garland of flowers, the iron chains which their oppressors have prepared for them; to stupify the native energy of those active Spaniards; to alienate from their hearts, if it is possible, the love, the fidelity and gratitude they owe to the most benevolent and just of all monarchs; to prevail upon them, for ever to lay down their arms, nor think of avenging themselves and retrieve their lost honour, but solely aspire to the felicity of being numbered among the vilest slaves of the tyrant of the seas! From these motives, they speak of the great advantages, which they pretend, would result from an alliance with Great Britain: under that government, they say, oppression is unknown; promise immediately to free their commerce from the heavy duties and imposts to which it has been subjected, to respect the catholic religion and its holy ministers, and that the local laws and national customs shall remain untouched, and conclude with stating, that their only object is to protect the Eastern coasts of South America, and render it the country the most prosperous in the universe. But where is the man, sensible and judicious, who does not immediately discover, under those affected expressions, the vile language of hypocrisy and fiction, so foreign to the intrepid soldier, natural only to the cowardly legions of those sordid islanders? Where is the man whose blood does not boil on hearing the sacred names of protection, humanity, and benevolence pronounced by a government, stained with recent robberies, perfidies, and murders?—by a government which does not cease sowing the seeds of discord and rebellion everywhere?—by a government which has so lately, before our eyes, kindled a bonfire in the fairest part of the globe, [alluding to Europe,] whose provinces we have so recently seen inundated with streams of the blood of its inhabitants?—by a government, which has so basely forsaken its allies, by hastily withdrawing its troops from all those parts where any of the invincible-battalions of Buonaparté made their appearance?—by a government whose friendship has proved so baneful and ruinous to so many powerful princes, and covered with mourning and desolation the immense countries situate between the fertile banks of the Adige and the frozen lakes of Bohemia?—by a government, lastly, which has so long endeavoured to erect the throne of its tyranny upon the spoils and tombs of all other nations, and which, of late years, has not even shrunk, in the face of the world, to adopt, as a basis of its Machiavelian system of politics, the plan of perpetual war; a plan at which humanity shudders? a plan which posterity will record and hand down to our remotest descendants, as a memorable monument of the ferocity and barbarity to which egotism and a thirst for monopoly can precipitate people, which lent its ear to no voice, but that of its arrogant and unnatural avarice?

*“Generous men of Lima!—Let us fling far from us, with that*

contempt which they so well deserve, those infamous proclamations, with which the English General pretends to surprise the innate fidelity of our countrymen, who inhabit the banks of the river La Plata. Let us look upon them as an insult to our honour, as an attempt against our own happiness, and a plan directed to the destruction of our native land.

“*Merchants!* The same men, who now pretend to have possessed themselves of Buenos Ayres, solely with a view of protecting your commerce, are the same who have precipitated it to that dismay and ruin, so prejudicial to your useful speculations, to which you see it reduced. They are the same who commenced the present hostilities, by capturing three of the King’s frigates and blowing up another. They are the same who seized upon your defenceless ships, peaceably navigating the seas, under a confidence that the Spanish flag which they displayed in the air, would protect them against all injuries from a nation with which we were not then at war. A general indignation was manifested by all the cabinets of Europe, but even this was insufficient to induce those avaricious and cruel Islanders to restore the treasures which they had so unjustly taken, with the blood of so many innocent victims.

“*Spaniards!* That perfidious nation which now pretends to appear to the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, as of all others, the most humane, is the same, which not six years since, sent a squadron and an army before Cadiz, at a time when the plague reigned within its walls, in all it’s terror, spreading horror and destruction. The English Admiral, who from his cabin windows could feast his eyes with the spectacle of mountains of corpses yet unburied, and the gloomy light of the funeral piles, yet had the courage of challenging our valiant chief to surrender or to prepare himself to suffer all the rigors of war. The commander of a Moorish corsair, having fallen in with a convoy, carrying victuals and medicines, at the expence of the Pope, to the city of Marseilles, then infested by a destructive plague, not only refrained from capturing those ships, but spontaneously convoyed them to the port of their destination. And the English Admiral, on a similar occasion, threw balls and shells into Cadiz, with an intent of reducing it to a heap of ruins.

“*Spaniards!* Those who now publish a law at Buenos Ayres enjoining slaves to obey their masters, are the same who fomented, and still continue to encourage in the island of St. Domingo, the most atrocious rebellion, recorded in the annals of nations.—We have all witnessed, that while the sanguinary Dessalines, at the head of innumerable bands of assassins, marched along the coasts with the murdering steel in one hand and the incendiary torch in the other, with fire and sword, spreading desolation, destruction, and death, wheresoever he went; an English squadron rigorously blockaded the capital, in order that no one solitary victim might escape the African fury.

“*Indians!* You who are one of the sweetest objects of the

tender care of our most amiable Monarch! That nation, which has taken possession of Buenos Ayres, has ever treated the aborigines of America and Asia with the most inhuman cruelty. When in the course of the last century they found it impracticable, by force of arms, to subjugate the brave inhabitants of the Floridas, they concluded a specious peace, and during such peace, regaled them with poisoned liquors and clothes, which caused deaths without number. Their East India company has already extirpated the greater number of the mild inhabitants of Malabar, Bengal and Coromandel, and would extirpate them all by one single blow, if they required not their labor in the manufactories of their richest and finest stuffs. That terrible famine is still recent in our memory, when millions of Indians perished, and which being foreseen by the English factories, they timely stored all the rice and other provisions, which the scanty harvest of that year had yielded. *Indians!* wheresoever the English nation has gained a footing, your's has been enslaved, reduced, and destroyed without mercy.

“*All you People, Inhabitants of Peru!* Let us, on this important occasion, display all our loyalty, all our courage. Let us speedily wash away the ugly stain cast upon the arms of Spain by the surrender of Buenos Ayres. Let us instantly fly to arms in the defence of our holy faith and of our beloved sovereign, and let us plunge into the deep currents of the river La Plata, that our cast off smugglers and pirates who, having by surprise possessed themselves of one of the most interesting parts of America, diffident of the power of their arms, and in dread of our just vengeance, now attempt by means of the detestable artifices of seduction, to induce us to forego the performance of our most sacred and inviolable duties, and to turn deaf ears to the pathetic and penetrating voice with which our country now calls upon us for assistance.”

From the beginning the capture of Buenos Ayres, by the English, was looked upon by many, as an unwise and impolitic measure. Unsanctioned as it appears to have been by the authority of that government, it could scarcely deserve the name of a national enterprize; yet we find the consequences resulting to England from its failure, to have been of the most mortifying and distressing kind.

If we may give any credit to the Public accounts, we shall find that the British cabinet had no accurate information of the state of the Spanish colonies in that part of the world, when a few armed vessels

under the command of Commodore Sir Home Popham, and a very feeble number of land forces, under the command of General Beresford, sailed from the Cape of Good Hope, about the middle of April 1806, leaving that settlement without an armed vessel to protect it from insult, in order to effect a conquest of the above settlement, by surprise. What better fate could have reasonably been expected to await an undertaking commenced solely upon the responsibility of a British naval commander, without any positive instructions from his government, than miscarriage and disgrace? Was it possible to strike a lasting terror in the minds of the inhabitants of South America, by such a scare-crow expedition? But we are told that the chief reliance of Sir Home Popham, was on the British government's supplying him, in season, with such reinforcements, as was necessary to secure a permanent conquest of Buenos Ayres, of which he had obtained a few months possession, but was soon after obliged to abandon it to its former masters. The capture of Monte Video, which followed in succession, from the obstinate resistance it made, added, however, no inconsiderable lustre to the British arms; but, unfortunately, this fortress, although a key to the navigation of the river La Plata, was, in itself, but of little importance to the trade of England. Buenos Ayres being the chief mart for the sale of her merchandize, and also the principal *dépôt* for exporting the various commodities of that part of South America.

We are not then surprized to find that England should wish to regain, at all hazards, the possession of this important capital, or that its government should be inclined to overlook the first steps, by

which its transient and short-lived conquest had been achieved. To effect its re-capture, England expended large sums, and dispatched some fresh troops under the command of Lieutenant-General Whitelocke, and others, who, in the end, experienced the same fate as their military predecessors. It is plain they had not only mis-calculated on the friendly disposition of the Spanish settlers towards them, but were even *deceived* as to their powerful means of resistance; since they ventured on a mode of storming the place, under the direction of General Whitelocke, with unloaded muskets, and without flints; a practice, although not very common, we believe in the system of military operations, was not deemed reprehensible by the court-martial appointed to try him on his return to England, and whose sentence (with that exception) has since consigned him to *disgrace*. The event of this species of attack, was precisely such as might have been expected, and which has thus officially been made public.

On the 5th of July 1807, a most desperate engagement took place in the streets of Buenos Ayres; "The nature of the fire to which the English troops were exposed, was violent in the extreme; grape shot at the corners of all the streets, musketry, hand-grenades, bricks and stones, from the tops of the houses; every housekeeper, with his negroes, defending his dwelling, each of which, in itself, was a fortress, and it is not, perhaps, too much to say, that the whole male population of that place were employed in its defence; not less than 2,500 men have been included in the list of killed and wounded on the part of the English.



We have already noticed the extravagant joy and delusive expectations, which the news of the capture of Buenos Ayres, diffused through every part of the British empire. A circular Letter from Sir Home Popham, to the principal mercantile and manufacturing cities, announcing, and not underrating the market he had opened, spread widely and rapidly the most exaggerated notions of his conquest, and led to many rash and improvident speculations. It was forgotten that Buenos Ayres had always been supplied with English goods through Spanish, or neutral bottoms; and though a direct trade might lessen the price of such goods, and increase the demand for them, it could not be supposed that the consumption would be in any proportion to the wild speculation which had been entered into by the British merchants. It was not considered; that Buenos Ayres was 1,800 miles distant from the mines of Potosi, and that the intermediate country was inhabited by a hardy unsettled race, expert in the management of their horses and spears, and as invincible in defensive war as the Arabs of the desert. Nor did they suppose this place owed its wealth and importance, not to its natural resources, derived from the fertile and uncultivated territory that surrounds it, but to its being the emporium between the mother country and her more distant colonies. But long before the system proper to be followed with Buenos Ayres, came to be discussed in the British cabinet, that settlement was retaken by the Spaniards. The terms on which the English forces surrendered, became afterwards a subject of dispute between Generals Beresford and Liniers who acted as Commander in Chief of the Spaniards.



This much is certain, that, contrary to the Articles of Capitulation signed by Liniers, the English were detained prisoners of war, and marched up the country. The loss of the British, by their own account, was 165 killed, wounded, and missing, besides 1,300 made prisoners. Thus terminated the expedition to Buenos Ayres; and such were the bitter fruits of an enterprize, undertaken without authority and originating in a breach of public duty, which, though alleviated by circumstances, was adjudged by a Court Martial highly censurable and deserving of a severe reprimand\*.

As it is foreign to our purpose to enter into all the details connected with this unsuccessful expedition of the English, we shall only observe, that the latter were totally defeated, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war to the Spanish forces, under General Liniers, who dictated to them the most humiliating terms to evacuate, with all possible speed, their *late* acquired footing in South America.

Although we cannot but sincerely lament the effusion of blood, shed in consequence of the above expedition to invade the rights of the Spanish nation, and to render their possessions in the new world, an object of individual plunder; yet we are far from regretting that this object has not been so fully and completely attained on the part of those British naval and military officers, whose active *zeal* in organizing a plan for its conquest, has been thus baffled.

We will here subjoin from the *Moniteur*, what

\* Sentence of the Court Martial on the trial of Sir Home Popham, March 11th, 1807.

that paper has said on the subject of English expeditions, and in which it has noticed, with much force, the one to Buenos Ayres.

“ It observes that England has within two years sent out four expeditions.

“ The first was against Constantinople, which was attended with the loss of several ships, the confiscation of all English merchandize, and the expulsion of their commerce from all the trading ports of the Levant. Admiral Duckworth, and his squadron, were happy in being able to find safety in flight.

“ The second expedition from England was against Egypt. This was still more shameful, more disastrous, more disgraceful. Its army, defeated at Rosetta, surrounded on its march, lost more than 4,000 chosen men in killed and made prisoners. In vain did the English break down the dykes, cut the canals, and inundate that unhappy country, in order to secure themselves in Alexandria. On the 22d. of September the Pacha arrived from Cairo, defeated them and obliged them to surrender Alexandria, into which he made his entry on the 24th. It is difficult to find a more humiliating expedition.

“ The third English Expedition was that against Monte Video and Buenos Ayres. Ten thousand English troops failed in their attack upon an unfortified town. It is true, that the hatred which the Spanish catholics have for the enemies of their religion, furnished them with new means against them, animated the whole population with new ardor, and the 10,000 men were very happy in being permitted to retire. This expedition, which cost the English enormous sums, only served, therefore, to destroy,

the illusion which had induced them to imagine that it was easy to seize on the Spanish possessions. The Portuguese possessions would not have offered less resistance. *Wherever there are catholics, the intolerant English will find enemies.* In this fatal expedition they lost more than 5,000 men.

“Their fourth expedition has been most notorious. It was that of Copenhagen, the most atrocious expedition of which history can preserve the remembrance; the shame with which it has covered the English government is indelible. Why did the English evacuate Zealand and Copenhagen, when the Danish government would not ratify the capitulation, and the engagement to evacuate no longer existed? Why did the English evacuate when the Prince Royal refused to receive their envoy, when that Prince concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with France, when he only answered their propositions by the recall of the agent he had at London? in fine, when in his political negotiations, he speaks of the English by calling them robbers, a name they have so well merited? Why? Because they are convinced of their weakness and inability by land. The approach of the season when the ice would render the arrival of the Danish troops possible, determined them prudently to take flight, instead of waiting for the enemy whom they had surprised when unarmed, and whom it would soon be necessary to combat; a disgraceful flight: which can never be treated with too much contempt.”

Having pursued our observations as far as our limits here will permit, on the conduct and defeat of the British forces at Buenos Ayres, we are led to notice the dispute which soon followed between

England and the United States of America, in the affair of the Chesapeak, a national ship, belonging to the latter government.

Here we have again to contemplate another unauthorised act of a British naval commander\*, in committing an unjustifiable aggression on the rights of an independant nation, by directing a forcible seizure of some pretended British seamen who were said to be on board the Chesapeak.

It is not our present design to enquire by what indefeasible right Great Britain claims the supreme empire of the ocean; or on what principles, sanctioned by the law of nations, she exercises her *right* of search of vessels belonging to neutrals; if it is to her naval prowess that she owes this unbounded authority over the seas, it behoves, her, in a moral sense, to recollect, that even this mighty prowess, may become the sport and wreck of hurricanes and tempests, and that it may be reduced by the very element that now constitutes her chief glory, and occasional *oppression*, to the harmless and inoffensive state of a drooping sea weed. The dominion of the seas, if exercised without any regard to natural right, or to natural justice, is an act of hostility not so much against man, as against the Author of the *Universe*, whom we cannot reasonably suppose, ever intended it for a mere theatre of *blood stained victories*, rather than a grand link to unite in friendship and peaceful commerce, the interest and prosperity of distant nations.

Considering it then in this latter point of view, we are not surprized that the freedom of its navigation, wherever or by whomsoever usurped should

\* Admiral Berkley.

meet with the avowed hatred, and displeasure of all mankind, who can never tamely submit that its sovereignty, should be exclusively lodged in the hands of any one government. The Americans, therefore, could not feel otherwise than indignant at the hostile proceedings of a British armed ship, and of superior force, attacking one of their frigates, even within the jurisdictional limits of their own waters.

The course pursued by the American President, Mr. Jefferson, on this occasion, was honourable and dignified. His proclamation, which we shall submit to our readers, is a mild and manly appeal to the government and good sense of England, while it at the same time served to appease, in some measure, the deeply irritated minds of his fellow citizens.

By the American prints, it appears that the inhabitants, throughout the states, had entered into the most spirited resolutions to defend their country, declaring, that for the recent conduct of Britain their can be but one species of atonement.—an *express disavowal of the act by the Government of Great Britain*, and an unqualified surrender of the officer or officers, by whose orders it was perpetrated, to the justice of the states.

We have also, under date of July the 6th, from Norfolk in Virginia, the following account and correspondence between the Mayor of that place, and Commodore Douglas:—

“ The agitation which our town was thrown into by the recent occurrence, had in some degree began to subside, and our citizens were waiting in calm expectation for the measures which our government



might adopt, when on Friday a movement of British ships again excited it. On the afternoon of that day, the *Bellona*, *Triumph*, *Leopard*, and *Melampus* came up from Lynhaven Bay, and anchored in Hampton Roads, in such manner as evidently proved that they designed something serious. On Saturday a pilot boat came up to town, the master of which reported that he had been brought to by the *Bellona*, (the Commodore's ship), and charged with the following letter from Commodore Douglas to the Mayor of this place:—

“SIR, *Bellona, Hampton Roads, July, 3.*

“I beg leave to represent to you, that having observed in the newspapers a resolution, made by a committee on the 28th ult. prohibiting any communication between his Britannic Majesty's Consul at Norfolk, and his ships lying at anchor, in Lynhaven Bay; and this being a measure extremely hostile, not only in depriving the British Consul from discharging the duties of his office, but at the same time preventing me from obtaining that information so absolutely necessary for his Majesty's service, I am therefore determined, if this infringement is not immediately annulled, to prohibit every vessel, bound either in or out of Norfolk, to proceed to their destination, until I know the pleasure of my government, or the commander in chief on this station. You must be perfectly aware, that the British flag never has nor will be insulted with impunity. You must also be aware, that it has been, and is still in my power, to obstruct the whole trade of the Chesapeake, since the late circumstance, which I desisted from, trusting that general unanimity would be restored. Respecting the circumstance of the deserters, lately apprehended from the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, that, in my opinion, must be decided between the two governments alone. It therefore rests with the inhabitants of Norfolk either to engage in war or remain on terms of peace.

“Agreeably to my intentions, I have proceeded to Hampton Roads with the squadron under my command, to await your answer, which I trust you will favour me with without delay.

“I have the honour to be Sir,

“Your obedient humble servant,

“J. E. DOUGLAS.”

“To Richard Lee, Esq. Mayor of Norfolk, Virginia.”

“P. S. I inclose you two letters, directed to the British Consul at Norfolk, which you will be pleased to forward him.

“J. E. D.”



"The Mayor convened the recorder and alderman, when the following answer was agreed on, and ordered to be sent:—

HARRISBURGH,

Norfolk, July 4.

"SIR,

"I have received your menacing letter of yesterday. The day on which this answer is written, \* ought of itself to prove to the subjects of your Sovereign, that the American people are not to be intimidated by menace, or induced to adopt any measures, except by a sense of their perfect propriety. Seduced by the false shew of security, they may be sometimes surprised and slaughtered, while unprepared to resist a supposed friend; that delusive security is now, however, passed for ever. The late occurrence has taught us to confide our safety no longer to any thing but our own force. We do not seek hostility, nor shall we avoid it. We are prepared for the worst you may attempt, and will do whatever shall be judged proper to repel force, whensoever your efforts shall render any act of ours necessary. Thus much for the threats of your letter, which can be considered in no other light than as addressed to the supposed fears of our citizens.

"In answer to any part of it, which is particularly addressed to me, as the first judicial officer of this borough, I have but to say, that you must be aware, that the judiciary of no country possesses any other powers than those conferred upon it by the law.

"The same channel through which you have derived the intelligence stated by yourself, must have also announced to you that the act of which you complain is an act of individuals, and not of the government.—If this act be wrong and illegal, the judiciary of this country, whenever the case is properly brought before it, will take care to do its duty. At present it has no judicial information of any outrage on the laws, and therefore will not act.

"If you, Sir, please to consider this act of individuals as a measure 'extremely hostile,' and shall commence hostility without waiting the decision of our two governments, although you yourself acknowledge that it properly belongs to them alone to decide, the inhabitants of Norfolk will conform to your example, and protect themselves against any lawless aggression which may be made upon their persons and property; they therefore leave it with you, either to engage in a war, or to remain on terms of peace until the pleasure of our respective governments shall be known.

"Your letters, directed to the British Consul of this place have been forwarded to him.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"RICHARD E. LEE, Mayor."

"To J. E. Douglas, Esq. commanding his Britannic Majesty's ships in Hampton-Roads.

\* The Anniversary of American Independence.

On the 5th of July, a Mr. Tazewell, deputed by the Mayor, went on board the British squadron in Hampton Roads, and had a conference with Commodore Douglas. It appears from this report, that Mr. Tazewell was introduced by Commodore Douglas into his cabin, where all the captains of the squadron were assembled; and that the Commodore declared *that he meant no menace*, and that if any part of his letter to the Mayor had the appearance of threat, it was not to be so understood. He stated that he had no orders to commence hostilities, and that he was anxious, as far as depended on him, to preserve peace between the two countries. The report then proceeds thus:

“In the course of this conversation, I described to them, as well as I was able, the sentiment which universally prevailed throughout the country at this time, the cause from whence it proceeded, and the effects it would produce provided any effort on their part should be made to oppose the public resolves, as to intercourse or supplies. I explicitly declared, that we had as yet received no authority from our government to proceed to acts of aggression, but that we were authorized, and were prepared for defence, and for the protection of ourselves and property; to prove which, I placed in the hands of Capt. Douglas an extract from the letter of Governor Cabell to Brigadier-General Mathews, which I had made for that purpose. I concluded by warning him again not to send any of his officers or people on shore; for that if he did, the arms of the civil authority, I did not believe, would be able to protect them from the vengeance of an enraged people; that this might lead to consequences which

might possibly be yet averted ; and if he was sincere in the sentiments he had expressed, he would be anxious to prevent such results. Captain Douglas, and all the Captains, declared, that they were aware of the present state of the public feelings, and deplored the circumstance which had excited it ; that they did not intend to expose any of their people to the resentment of ours, which they could conceive was highly inflamed ; that as to supplies they did not want any at present ; but when they did, they should not attempt to procure them in any way which would excite the opposition of the citizens of this country.—Upon the subject of intercourse, he did not expect to hold any with the people of this country, nor was there any occasion for it. He only wished to be permitted freely to communicate with the accredited officer of his government here, who had been formally received and recognized by our executive, and whose functions he presumed none but the government had the right to put down. As to the particular manner in which this communication might be carried on, it was a matter quite indifferent to him. He had no objection to that being regulated by ourselves, in any way which is judged proper, and that he would certainly pursue the mode which might be suggested as most agreeable to us, provided the channel of communication was kept free and open. To this I stated, that I had no authority from any person to enter into any engagement with him ; but that as an individual I would state, that the letters he had forwarded under cover to you had been safely delivered, and that, therefore, I presumed any other dispatches of a like kind would be treated in the same way. But upon this

subject I could only refer him to you and your associates for information."

Notwithstanding such were the tumultuous and riotous scenes in several of the sea ports of the united States, before the President issued his proclamation, yet, on its appearance, the fury of party began somewhat to abate, and to settle into a more regular course of popular action. The steps taken by the executive to obtain redress for the above insult, were highly approved of by all parties; many of whom considered the British Government would not hesitate to punish, in the most exemplary manner, the unauthorised acts of their Admiral. "Should we be mistaken," say they, "and the ministers of England resolve on *war*, the advantages of a party in our favour in England, must be well appreciated by all who remember our former glorious struggle for independence. Our fathers addressed the whole British nation in terms so impressive, that it has been much questioned whether our battles were better contended on the American plains, or in St. Stephen's Chapel."

Although many violent sentiments have been expressed by some few hot-headed sons of freedom in America, respecting the conduct of the British Government, in the affair of the Chesapeake; and although many reproachful invectives have been applied, on this occasion, to the character of the English Nation, the more moderate temper of their Chief Magistrate, in which we trust the good sense of the people at large is equally and fully blended, will be found in the following:

PROCLAMATION.

“During the wars which for some time have unhappily prevailed among the powers of Europe, the United States of America, firm in their principles of peace, have endeavoured by justice, by a regular discharge of all their national and social duties, and by every friendly office their situation has admitted, to maintain with all the belligerents their accustomed relations of friendship, hospitality, and commercial intercourse:

“Taking no part in the questions which animated these powers against each other, nor permitting themselves to entertain a wish but for the general restoration of peace, they have observed with good faith the neutrality they assumed, and they believe that no instance of a departure from its duties can be justly imputed to them by any nation. A free use of their harbours and waters, the means of refitting and refreshing, of succour to their sick and suffering, have at all times, and on equal principles, been extended to all, and this too amidst a constant recurrence of acts of insubordination to the laws, of violence to the persons, and of trespasses on the property of our citizens, committed by officers of one of the belligerent parties received among us. In truth, these abuses of the laws of hospitality have, with a few exceptions, become habitual to the commanders of the British armed vessels hovering on our coasts, and frequenting our harbours. They have been the subject of repeated representations to their government. Assurances have been given, that proper orders should restrain them within the limit of the rights, and of the respect due to a friendly nation; but those orders and assurances have been without effect; and no instance of punishment for past wrongs has taken place.

“At length a deed, transcending all we have hitherto seen or suffered, brings the public sensibility to a serious crisis, and our forbearance to a necessary pause. A frigate of the United States, trusting to a state of peace, and leaving her harbour on a distant service, has been surprised and attacked by a British vessel of superior force, one of a squadron then lying in our waters and covering the transaction, and has been disabled from service, with the loss of a number of men killed and wounded.

“This enormity was not only without provocation or justifiable cause, but was committed with the avowed purpose of taking by force, from a ship of war of the United States, a part of her crew; and that no circumstance might be wanting to mark its character, it had been previously ascertained that the seamen demanded were native citizens of the United States. Having effected his purpose, he returned to anchor, with his squadron, within our jurisdiction. Hospitality under such circumstances, ceases to be a duty, and a continuance of it, with such uncontrolled abuses, would tend only, by multiplying injuries and irritations, to bring on a rupture between the two nations. This extreme resort is equally opposite to the interests of both, as it is to assurances of the most friendly



dispositions on the part of the British government, in the midst of which this outrage has been committed. In this light the subject cannot but present itself to that government, and strengthen the motives to an honourable reparation of the wrong which has been done, and to that effectual controul of its naval commanders, which alone can justify the government of the United States in the exercise of those hospitalities it is now constrained to discontinue.

"In consideration of these circumstances, and of the right of every nation to regulate its own police, to provide for its peace, and for the safety of its citizens, and consequently to refuse the admission of armed vessels into its harbour or waters, either in such numbers, or of such description, as are inconsistent with these, or with the maintenance of the authority of the laws, I have thought proper, in pursuance of the authorities specially given by law, to issue this my proclamation, hereby requiring all armed vessels bearing commissions under the government of Great Britain, now within the harbours or waters of the United States, immediately, and without delay, to depart from the same, and interdicting the entrance of all the said harbours and waters to the said armed vessels and to all others bearing commissions under the authority of the British government.

"And if the said vessels, or any of them, shall fail to depart as aforesaid, or if they or any others, so interdicted, shall hereafter enter the harbours or waters aforesaid, I do in that case forbid all intercourse with them, or any of them, their officers or crews, and do prohibit all supplies and aid from being furnished to them or any of them.

"And I do declare, and make known, that if any person from, or within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, shall afford any aid to any such vessel, or in furnishing her, her officers or crew, with supplies of any kind, or in any manner whatsoever, or if any pilot shall assist in navigating any of the said armed vessels, unless it be for the purpose of carrying them in the first instance beyond the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, or unless it be in the case of a vessel forced by distress, or charged with public dispatches, as hereinafter provided for such person or persons shall, on conviction, suffer all the pains and penalties by the laws provided for such offences.

"And I do hereby enjoin and require all persons bearing office, civil or military, within or under the authority of the United States, and all others, citizens or inhabitants thereof, with vigilance and promptitude to exert their respective authorities, and to be aiding and assisting to the carrying this proclamation and every part thereof, into full effect.

"Provided, nevertheless, that if any such vessels shall be forced into the harbours or waters of the United States by distress, by the dangers of the sea, or by the pursuit of an enemy, or shall enter them charged with dispatches or business from their government, or shall be a public packet for the conveyance of letters and dispatches, the commanding officer immediately reporting his ves-



set to the collector of the district, stating the object, or cause of entering the said harbours or waters, and conforming himself to the regulations in that case prescribed under the authority of the laws, shall be allowed the benefit of such regulations respecting repairs, supply, stay, intercourse, and departure, as shall be permitted under the same authority."

(Signed)

"T. JEFFERSON."

*Washington City, July 2, 1807.*

The question now at issue between the British and American governments, is not merely confined to this single act of hostility committed by an unauthorised individual of the former, against the flag of a national vessel in the service of the United States, but the latter denies all right of search on the part of British armed vessels, which they contend is a practice highly derogatory to their flag, and inconsistent with their right as an independent nation. They complain, with too much appearance of truth, that it continually happens that native Americans are impressed and forced to serve in the English navy, on pretence of their being Englishmen; a circumstance, that from a similiarity of habits and language cannot, perhaps, at all times, be guarded against, even where the fairest intentions are manifest that no such impressment was meant. Yet it is but right and just, that America should defend her citizens from being obliged to serve a foreign power, or compelled to wage war with a nation with whom that government is in friendly and peaceful alliance.

The United States, whose duty it is to protect her own citizens from interruption and outrage, have, nevertheless, readily consented to embrace any measures that could be devised, to prevent deserters from the British navy finding a refuge in the American territory, or to afford them any shelter on board.

of her ships. At the same time, they cannot tamely acquiesce in the interested and capricious *demands* of a British officer, to select from the crew of an American vessel, whoever he may think proper, to denominate a British subject.

On the other hand, it has been contended, that no state has such a jurisdiction over its merchant vessels on the high seas, as to exclude a belligerent from the right of searching them for contraband of war, or for the persons and property of enemies; and, if in the exercise of that right, the belligerent should discover on board of a neutral vessel its subjects who had withdrawn from their lawful allegiance, upon what ground, it has been asked, can the neutral refuse to give them up? and if the right to impress be clearly in favour of the belligerent, it is one too important to Great Britain, in her present situation; too essential to her safety in the war in which she is engaged, to be abandoned or relinquished, unless some unexceptionable plan can be devised, of attaining the same end by means less violent and less liable to abuse. The difficulty of distinguishing between an Englishman and an American, is no argument against the rights of impressing, though it is a good reason for being cautious and reserved in the exercise of it. If an American is impressed as an Englishman, he ought to be released as soon as his national character is ascertained, and should receive ample compensation for the injury done him, and if any outrage or unnecessary violence has marked the conduct of the belligerent officer who conducted the search, or if there is reason to believe his mistake has been wilful, an exemplary punishment should teach him, that while

he enforces the rights of his own country, not to violate those of neutrals.

Notwithstanding the plausibility of such arguments in favour of England, we are well aware that many Americans have been compelled to serve in the British navy; and that the American government still urges this as a grievance to be adjusted, in the existing differences between the two countries.

Great Britain, however, has conceded her right of searching the National vessels belonging to that power, and has recalled Admiral Berkly from his late command on the Halifax station. Prior to these circumstances, and to the suspension of her intercourse with England, the United States continued to prosper beyond all former example. From the 1st of October, 1805, to the 30th of September, 1806, her exports were valued at 101 million of dollars; of which 41 millions were in native commodities, and the rest in foreign goods re-exported. Their revenue arising almost entirely from the Receipt of Customs, which, in 1805, had not exceeded 13 million of dollars, rose in 1806 to near 15 millions. The reduction of their national debt proceeded as rapidly as the conditions on which it had been contracted would permit; and, at the close of 1806, the sum actually redeemed, amounted to 23 millions of dollars, equal to more than two-thirds of what remained unpaid.

The tranquility of their Indian sentiments was secured by the wise and just policy of their government towards the native tribes, whose esteem and confidence it had gained by the unvarying rectitude of its conduct towards them; and by its unceasing

attention to promote their happiness and welfare. So successful had been its exertions in eradicating the prejudices and softening the character of these savages, that many of their tribes were engaged in the pursuits of agriculture and household manufacture, and some had disposed of their superfluous territory to purchase the means of improving the remainder.

In the promotion of this wise and laudable policy, the brightest part by far, of Mr. Jefferson's administration, he was powerfully aided by his predecessors in this beneficent work, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, who had been, for some years, employed in inspiring the American Indians with a taste for the comforts of civilized life, and in teaching them the arts which they had formerly rejected and despised.

We shall now return to the affairs of Europe and to some of the more immediate acts connected with the reign of the French Emperor. In conformity to the 5th article of the treaty of Tilsit, Buonaparté conferred a

#### NEW CONSTITUTION ON POLAND.

Section I. The Roman Catholic religion is the religion of the state; but all other religions are free. The duchy is divided into six bishopricks, over which one archbishop and five bishops preside.—Slavery, is abolished, and all citizens are equal with respect to the law.

II. *Of the Government.*—The archducal crown is hereditary in the Kings of Saxony, who are to appoint a viceroy or president of the ministerial council. The property of the ducal crown consists, 1. In an annual revenue of seven millions of Polish guilders, one half arising from the royal lands and demesnes, the other half from the Treasury; 2. In the royal palace of Warsaw, and the Saxon palace.

III. *Of the ministers of the council of State.*—The ministry consists of six members, viz. the ministers of justice, of foreign affairs, of religion, of war, of finances, and of police. There is also a secretary of state. The council of state is formed out of the ministry for the purpose of preparing plans of laws, &c. all of which the king hath the power of rejecting.

IV. *Of the General Diet.*—This body is divided into two chambers, viz. the senate and the representatives. The diet is to assemble every second year, for 14 days, when a royal act of convocation calls the members together.

V. *Of the Senate.*—This chamber has 18 members, consisting of six bishops, six palatines, and castellans, all appointed by the king, who has also the power of increasing the number of senators to 30, if he shall think fit.

VI. *Of the Chamber of Representatives.*—These consist of 60 deputies, chosen by the district diets of the nobles, and 40 elected by the towns. The members retain their seats for nine years, but the end of every three years one third of the body is renewed.

VII. This section contains regulations for the meeting of the district, diets, &c.

VIII. *Of the division of the Territory.*—The duchy is divided into six departments, to each of which there is a prefect, under prefect, mayors, and a departmental council of from 16 to 24 members.

IX. *Of the Laws.*—"The Napoleon Code shall be the civil law of the duchy of Warsaw." Each department has a civil and a criminal court. The council of state is the last court of appeal. The judges are appointed by the king.

X. *Of the Armed Force.*—The standing army consists of 30,000 men. The king can call part of this force into Saxony, but must replace them by an equal number of Saxons.

XI. *General Regulations.*—All who have not places for life may be dismissed at the pleasure of the king, the deputies only excepted. None but citizens of the dukedom can be appointed to public situations. All the acts of the government must be drawn up in the Polish language. All the civic and military orders formerly subsisting in Poland, are to remain unchanged, but the king is their head.

XII. The present imposts remain until the 1st of January, 1809. No change can be made in the organization of the troops, until regulations be made on that subject by the diet.

"We Napoleon, by the the grace of God and the constitution, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Rhenish Confederacy, have approved, and hereby do approve of the above constitutional act, which has been submitted to us for carrying into effect the 5th article of the treaty of Tilsit, and which we consider as calculated to fulfil our engagements to the people of Warsaw and Great Poland, by reconciling their freedom and privileges with the tranquillity of the neighbouring states.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

Given in the Royal Palace of Dresden,  
this 22d day of July, 1807.

If Poland has acquired a new constitution and a settled form of government, which bids fair to in-

force her future happiness.—If after its fatal dismemberment by Prussia, Russia, and Austria, we find her again rearing her head in the scale of nations, we certainly cannot withhold our admiration of the acts that has thus raised and renovated her. But alas! should the appearance of her new-born freedom, be only a treacherous lure to ensnare her into the ruined fate of other kingdoms, Buonaparté will be entitled to little praise in exchanging her former fetters, only to receive the manacles of a fresh despotism.

While these events were taking place, the negroes of Hispaniola had organised their government under the new titles of the Republic of Hayti, and had chosen for their President General Pétion. On the 10th of March, 1807, it was announced to the senate, that the President of Hayti was about to enter the hall of the Assembly to take the oaths prescribed by the constitution.

At the same instant a *salve* of artillery was heard, and the President of Hayti was announced, the senate decreed, that its members should receive him sitting and covered. The President of Hayti appeared, preceded by the Secretary of state, Generals Bazelais and Wagnac, and a great number of civil and military officers.—Mr. Lewis, an officer of the American navy was in the suite. The President of Hayti traversed the hall to the sound of musical instruments, and appeared at the bar, where a chair was prepared to receive him. The President of the senate, also ordered suitable places for the Secretary of State, Generals Bazelais and Wagnac, and Mr. Lewis.—He then addressed the President of Hayti in the following words:



“ *Citizen General.*—The senate being aware of the necessity of organizing the government, has proceeded, in its sitting of yesterday, to the nomination of the President of Hayti. The votes of its members have been in your favour; and you have been proclaimed President of the Haytian republic. The senate, in elevating you to be first magistrate of the state, conceive they have rendered public homage to your virtues and to the republican sentiments, which have hitherto characterised you.—Entrusted with the execution of the laws and the direction of the armed force, you will become an object of emulation to all those of your fellow citizens, who follow you in your career. Your attachment to the republic, your submission to the laws and your zeal in executing them, are the powerful motives which have determined the legislative corps, to place you at the head of the government and of the armed force. May God preserve in you that happy character with which you are gifted by nature, and ever render you the object of public admiration.—Bear ever in mind, President, that the welfare of the republic depends on the harmony which ought to subsist between the executive power and the legislative body.—To destroy it would be dangerous to the state by exposing it to divisions. When the government is organized the political crisis must cease.”

The President of Hayti standing and uncovered, answered to following effect :

“ Raised by your choice to be first magistrate of the state; become, in some sort, the depository of the happiness and of the destiny of our country, I have the honour of declaring to you that I should be alarmed at the extent of the obligations you impose on me, if I were not certain of finding in your enlightened minds, in your wisdom, and in your energy, all the resources of which I stand in need. This idea, senators, is sufficient for me; and accepting with confidence the new mission with which you honour me, my heart will pronounce in the senate the oath which the constitution prescribes to the President of Hayti :—

“ *I swear to fulfil faithfully the office of President of Hayti, and maintain, with all my might, the constitution.*”

“ May the arms confided to the people for the defence of liberty be directed against my breast, if ever I conceive the audacious and impious project of attempting to violate their rights; if ever I forget, fellow citizens, that, after having given my aid for the destruction of the tyrant whose existence was a reproach to nature, and after having assisted to proscribe another, who by his blind ambition lighted up among us the flames of civil war, that I have been elevated to the Presidency of Hayti.”

The President of the senate then invited the President of Hayti to take his place on his right, which was done.

"The music then struck up, *Ou peut on être mieux qu'en sein de sa famille?*\* A great number of citizens, among whom were remarked several foreign merchants, occupied the galleries. Joy was visible on every countenance."

The senate, on the proposition of one its members, declared that there are matters of urgency, and decreed, on the 12th of March, as follows:—To the President alone belongs the right of presenting to the senate persons to be employed in civil and military capacities.

The senate, on the proposition of one of its members, decreed, on the 21st of March, as follows :

Art. I. The right of transacting political foreign affairs, and carrying on negotiations, is temporarily vested in the President of Hayti.

Art. II. The President of Hayti may make, sign, or cause to be signed, with foreign powers, any treaty of alliance or commerce, and generally any agreement that he shall judge necessary to the welfare of the state.

These treaties or agreements are negotiated in the name of the republic of Hayti, by agents named by the President of Hayti, and charged with his instructions.

Art. III. In case any secret articles should enter into a treaty they shall not set aside the principal ones.

Art. IV. No treaty is effective, unless examined and ratified by the senate.

## REPÚBLIC OF HAYTI.—LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

### *Proclamation of the President.*

"Our bretheren in the north, groaning under the tyranny of Christophe, have just made a bold and noble effort to free themselves from his yoke. Throughout the whole country from the Mo'te to St. Louis, the people have taken up arms, both cultivators and soldiers. An enterprising leader, *Jean-Louis Rebbeca*, has put himself at their head, and has already gained a most surprising advantage over the satellites of the tyrant.

"A deputation has been adressed to me. All the people of the north acknowledge our constitution, because it is founded on liberty,—they wish to come and live under our government, that is to say, under a paternal government.

\* "Where can we better than in the bosom of our family?" A delightful French air, which speaks almost as forcibly to the heart of every true Frenchman, as the celebrated *Ras de Vaches* does to the wandering Swiss.

“Citizens, the transports of joy which this intelligence has excited among you, the ardor which you display in flying to the succour of your brethren in the north, and to unite your efforts to theirs in order to punish the tyrant, are the sure guarantees of the success which awaits you.

“Soldiers, the signal for your departure will soon be given, never was there a more glorious expedition,—never a more sacred enterprise. You march to secure the liberty and happiness of your brethren; to punish a wretch who is a disgrace to humanity; who, in the delirium of his ferocity, regards neither age nor sex. You march to rescue from the axe of the tyrant, women and children, who are the helpless victims of his savage cruelty. Pursue him to his last retreat, and leave him no alternative, but a precipitate flight from this island, or inevitable death.

“Soldiers, this expedition against tyranny will not be long; the satellites of Christophe cannot stand a single instant against the soldiers of liberty. You must endure a little fatigue, and suffer a few privations, but you will be amply recompensed by a rich harvest of glory.

“During the campaign do not depart from the principles of subordination and of discipline, these constitute the true military character,—respect the property of the cultivator; respect the property of every citizen; they are all your brethren,—the property of Christophe will be yours.

“Remember, that on your return, you owe to your wives and your children, the recital of your military exploits, and of all the circumstances in which you have shewn your courage, and which have led to your honour and dignity; cause your wives to be proud of you, and kindle in the hearts of your children the desire of imitating your conduct.

(Signed)

“PETION.”

*Port au-Prince, 22d. May, 1807.*

*Fourth Year of Independence.*



## CHAPTER III.

*Affairs of Sweden.—Surrender of Stralsund to the French.—State of France.—Treaty of Peace between Russia and the Porte.—Death of Cardinal York, &c.*

THE King of Sweden, who had hitherto waged against France, a harmless war, of official notes and virulent proclamations, at length began to exchange real blows with his adversary. A body of Swedish troops, who had been stationed at Launenburg, were made prisoners at Travemund, as they were endeavouring to make their escape to Sweden by sea, and had advanced with a small army under Marshall Mortier to the frontiers of Pomerania, in order to form the siege of Stralsund, and drive the Swedes from the Isle of Ruguen. An attempt had been previously made by the French Emperor, to open a separate negotiation for peace with the King of Sweden, for whose character he had expressed the highest esteem and consideration; but his proffers were rejected with disdain by that high spirited monarch; and the Swedish Envoy at Hamburgh, who had listened to the overtures of his emissary, was severely reprimanded for giving ear to them.

A proclamation had been published by his Swedish Majesty, couched in very strong terms, addressed to the German troops, serving in the French armies, and calling upon them to vindicate their honour and their national character, by joining the only German prince who has not yet condescended to make peace with Buonaparté. In the orders issued by Marshal Brune, he designates the King of

Sweden as the "hireling of England, and avows his determination to drive him from the continent." The King of Sweden finding his troops compelled into Stralsund, sought an armistice, to which the following answer was returned by Marshal Brune; "that in this way the unsuspecting candour of the French had been for once overreached, but that it would be the extreme of folly to allow himself to be again deceived; and, therefore, demanded that the King of Sweden should surrender Stralsund, and abandon Swedish Pomerania for ever.

Three hundred pieces of cannon were employed by the besiegers, who threatened to take vengeance on the city whenever they should enter it. Marshal Berthier endeavoured, in vain, to effect an interview with his Swedish Majesty, to persuade him to surrender. It appears that, after some severe engagements had taken place, the King of Sweden renewed his proposals for an armistice, on condition that both armies should retain their respective positions. While the Swedish officer, who was the bearer of these proposals, remained at the French head-quarters, the French attacked the Swedes, and forced them to fall back. On the 13th, 15th, and 16th of July, fresh attacks were made, but according to the Swedish bulletins, were not productive of any important consequence.

On the 28th a deputation, consisting of the magistrate and liverymen of the city, was admitted to his Majesty's presence, and presented an humble address, the prayer of which was "that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to avert the dangers of the war from the walls of Stralsund, and restore to Pomerania the blessings of peace." The answer re-

turned by his Majesty was, "that as the magistrates and citizens were undoubtedly convinced of his gracious sentiments towards them, he had on the other hand depended implicitly on their fidelity and attachment to his person and government; that his Majesty would do every thing in his power to avert from his faithful subjects the perils of war, and, for that purpose, had proposed an armistice to the commanding French general, who had required a surrender of the place, and that it should be garrisoned with the enemy's troops; a demand to which his Majesty could not agree, either on his own account nor on that of his loyal Pomeranian subjects; that while his Majesty assured them of his gracious protection, he could do no less than request that they will perform their duty as faithful subjects, with tranquillity and resignation."

The French besieging army was computed at 40,000, men. The enemy was greatly molested in their approaches by the Swedish gun-boats. At length, after a spirited resistance, attended with a considerable loss on both sides, Stralsund finally surrendered to the French arms; his Swedish Majesty with the greater part of the garrison, having previously left it.

At eleven in the morning of the 24th of August, his Majesty the Emperor of the French, being seated on his throne, received a solemn deputation from the legislative body, and another from the tribunate. Upon this occasion, M. Fontanes, the president of the former assembly, delivered the following interesting address:—

"SIRE,

"The legislative body lays at the foot of your Majesty's throne, the address of thanks to which they have unanimously agreed. It is offered, not so much to the conqueror, as to the pacificator of



Europe. Let others, if possible, justly describe the wonders of your last campaign; the rapid succession of triumphs, by which a monarchy was overthrown; and the still more heroic firmness, which patiently knew how to wait for and prepare the day of victory, in the midst of so many impediments thrown in the way by fortresses, troops, and the inclemencies of the season. Let them direct our attention to those soldiers, who, equally indefatigable as their chief, lay encamped with him six months together, in the bleak fields of the north, braving alike the frozen winters of Poland, and the glowing summers of Syria. Finally, let them picture that state of continually threatened repose, which was at length to terminate in a dreadful explosion; and, above all, that decisive moment, previously announced by yourself, when these frozen climes, having become somewhat more temperate, favoured your genius with the opportunity of completing the victory, and compelling the vanquished to accept terms of peace. It is not our province to blazon forth such performances and military achievements. Whatever claim they may have to our admiration, they have been purchased with tears, and they have inspired the conqueror himself with feelings of commiseration, which gave him an additional title to our affection and esteem.

“We direct our views to much more cheering scenes. We would rather follow you to the banks of that river, where, divested of the pomp of war, two boats received two Emperors, and with them the future destiny of the world. A memorable day! A day to be celebrated in all succeeding ages! The two armies, drawn up exactly opposite to each other, along the respective banks of the Niemen, contemplated with astonishment so interesting a meeting, after so many destructive engagements; and in one instant, 400,000 soldiers, composed of Italians and Dutchmen, Scythians, Sarmatians, Germans, and Frenchmen, laid aside their arms, and the two greatest Sovereigns on earth met each other on a raft, in the middle of the river, to adjust, personally, the affairs of their states, and mutually stretched forth their hands as a pledge of their reconciliation. Alexander and Napoleon are united; the war is at an end; and a hundred million of people again taste the blessings of peace.

“The interests of futurity itself are possibly connected with this celebrated interview, which was so worthy of the youthful successor of the Czars. From one single individual, he may have been furnished with more examples, and received more information respecting the art of government, than formerly could have been obtained by Peter the Great,\* when, with the view of self-instruction, he undertook a long journey, and visited all the courts of his royal contemporaries. The treaty of Tilsit has left behind no further pretence for a continental war. On that great day it was, that kingdoms and nations, the old and the new powers, took their fixed stations; it was then that every thing became solid and secure.

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\* A new and corrected Edition of Peter the Great is published by M. Jones, No. 5, Newgate Street.

“The nation, Sire, may now flatter itself with the hope, that it will not henceforth be, for so long a period, deprived of your presence, and that its internal welfare and prosperity will continue to increase under your paternal superintendance. The nation has well merited your care and affection. At every epoch of your government, and particularly the present, they have been solely occupied in emulating the greatness of your exploits, by the extent of their sacrifices and their devotion. We have henceforth the assurance, that we shall gratify your Majesty by intermingling the homage we owe you, with the praises of that great and good people, as you have so justly denominated them.”

“The hearts of all of us are warmed by the proofs you have given us of your attachment to the French. The benevolent expressions which you uttered from the throne have already filled the poorest cottages with joy. In talking of you, it will one day be said, (and it is the finest trait in so wonderful a history), “*He occupied himself with attending to the condition of the poor, who dispensed the fate of so many Kings;*” and that on the termination of a long war, you diminished the public burthens, whilst your triumphant hand so gloriously dealt forth crowns to those officers of the first rank who fought by your side.

It is your first duty to bring to your recollection that magnanimous promise which will not have been made in vain. Whilst you are creating around you new dignities, and those intermediate ranks, which are the appendages of monarchy, and serve to augment its lustre, it shall be our care to draw closer our ties with that people, of whose sentiments we are the interpreters. In this we shall find a species of greatness, which, though not so dazzling, is not less honourable.

“We swear, Sire, that we will never belie the sentiments which have been stamped with your approbation. We swear it in the presence of that throne which is established on the basis of so many trophies, and which governs all Europe.

“And how is it possible that you should not receive with a favourable ear expressions which are as remote from slavery as from anarchy—you, Sire, who have availed yourself of the right of conquest only to restore peace to the vanquished, and who have reinstated the inhabitants of the banks of the Vistula in all their former privileges? The legislative body will zealously, and to the utmost of its power, promote the grand plans of improvement which occupy your mind.

“Under the eye of your genius, we shall speedily see our civil and political institutions perfected. You will affix to them that stamp of greatness and stability which distinguish all the other creations of your superior understanding: and, to crown your glory, genuine freedom, which cannot exist but under a pure monarchy, will become more and more secure, under the government of an omnipotent Prince.”

The address of M. Fabre, president of the tribunate, was to the same effect.

Both these deputations were most graciously received by the Emperor, and were conducted with the same solemnities with which they were introduced.

The minister of the interior, M. Cretet, on the 22d of August being introduced to the legislative body, accompanied by the councillors of state, Jaubert, and Bigot Promeneau, presented the following

#### REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE EMPIRE.

“Fifteen months have elapsed since the deputies separated, in order to return to their homes. At that period, the Emperor seemed to have approximated the moment when he was to taste the fruits of his glorious labours.

“The German Princes were, for the most part, in alliance with France; Prussia was in the number of her friends; the differences with Russia were terminated by a treaty of peace: our tranquillity seemed to be equally secured abroad as at home, and numerous deputations flocked from all quarters of the empire, to bring the Emperor the homage of their admiration and gratitude; the heroes of the army had already arrived to attend the festivals to be given at Paris, in celebration of our victories; the Emperor directed all his attention to the internal affairs of government; when England, accustomed to seek her own safety in the misfortunes of other nations, induced Russia to depart from her pacific inclinations, so lately confirmed by a treaty, and precipitated Prussia into a war, without reason or object, contrary to the judgment of the ministers, and very possibly against the wishes of the King. An army of 130,000 men, eager for the combat, commanded by the King and his veteran Generals, and formed in the school of the great Frederick, was almost annihilated in the first battle, and the remains were melted down in the ranks of the Russian army.

“France, calm and tranquil, while the tempest burst over the distant regions where it was formed, saw the career of internal improvement, commenced during a period of peace, maintained and advanced. The conscription-law was carried into effect with more zeal than ever; the taxes were punctually paid; the national guards gave proof of their ardour; the public spirit retained all its purity; the Government was, in the highest degree, satisfied with the conduct of the mayors.

“The gifts and donations to the various charitable foundations, in the year 1806, formed a capital of 2,300,000 francs, and have been further augmented by a fresh act of bounty on the part of his Majesty, with a sum of 15,000,000 francs. The sufferers by the maritime war have been indemnified by his Majesty.

“The government has begun to direct its attention to the means

of repressing mendicity. The Abbies of Contonvrault and the Ursulines of Montpellier, are already prepared for the reception of the mendicants belonging to the departments; and that of Villars Crochet, which is nearly completed, will be sufficient for those of the capital and its environs.

“Thirteen thousand four hundred miles of road have been repaired and improved. These labours have been bestowed on 6,127 highways, leading from the capital to all the frontiers of the empire.

“The navigation of eight principal rivers or streams, and among these the Loire and Charente, have been improved.

“Four bridges have been finished during the last recess, or will shortly be finished. The building of ten others is actively going forward; among which are those of Bouanne and Tours.

“Ten canals, almost all of them commenced under the present government, are worked at without intermission. Of that of the Ourq, about three-fourths are completed. The two cuts from that of St. Quintin, which unite the Seine with the Scheidt, and Paris with Holland, are completed, and will be navigable in eighteen months.

“The sea-ports are also restored. Antwerp recovers its antient celebrity, and will form the centre of the marine service. For the first time, that part of the Scheldt has seen upon its stream vessels of 74 and 80 guns. Fourteen ships are on the stocks at Antwerp.

“Flushing, having been enlarged, is now capable of containing a squadron. At Dunkirk, the western jetty has been re-built. At Cherburgh, the two moles have been raised; and the battery Napoleon, placed in the seas, defends the harbour, both against the waves and the foe. At Rochefort, a scientific apparatus has been erected, by which vessels of all rates may be taken in or out at any time of tide.

Agriculture has also constantly occupied the attention of government. The national sheep-folds preserve their breeds in the highest purity. The shepherds will be instructed in the art of managing their flocks. The restoration of the breed of horses is in forwardness. Twelve depots of stallions are already formed, consisting of 900 of the finest animals. The breeding of black cattle is placed under regulation in a great number of the departments, and the veterinary schools are in a flourishing state.

A commercial code is digesting, with the view of combining what is good in the regulations of the old ordinances with existing customs, of protecting credit, and preventing the disgrace of bankruptcy.

Our cotton-spinning establishments have, within the last twenty months, recovered from their inactivity; and the decree of the 22nd. of February having re-activated them, they now furnish our manufactories with those materials which we procured from abroad.

“It is to the desire of the Empero., that the capital, become the metropolis of the world should correspond with its destination. The bridge of Austerlitz is completed; that of Jena is begun. In

the *Place de Vendôme* will be erected the column of the grand army; in the *Place des Victoires*, the monument of Dessaix; and the statue of Haultpoult will decorate the *Place des Vosges*. The palace of the legislative body will be adorned with a colonnade; opposite will be erected the Temple of Victory; and in the mid-way will be reared the sovereign's palace; so that the throne will occupy a central position between justice and glory. The works at St. Genevieve are going forward; those at St. Denis are nearly finished.

“The tomb of Dessaix is erected on the Alps, between France and Italy, where it demonstrates to the two countries the honours conferred by their common deliverer on his comrade and friend, who died amidst those victories which determined the fate of both nations.

“The French school is occupied in representing, in marble or on canvas, the most renowned events of the present reign.

“The war has retarded the institution of a general school; but the Emperor will still accomplish the project.

“Several colleges have been established in the course of the year, to the number of 35. They contain 18,000 scholars. Of these, 3,700 owe their education, in whole, or in part, to the national bounty. Twelve schools of jurisprudence are opened, and 12,000 students occupy them at present.

“The labours of the meridian circle of Barcelona and of Balcars are renewed, and will be continued this winter. The observatory of the pantheon is restored, and that of Tourin is again devoted to astronomy.

“The Emperor desires that the sciences may have a part in the amazing improvements which have been communicated, like an electric shock, to every thing great and interesting. He desires that the French language, now become that of Europe, shall continue to support that noble privilege, by its beauty, its purity, and the interest of its productions. He desires that the public sentiments shall encourage the developement of talents, and preserve the latter against calumny and malignity; and that in future there shall be no sects among the learned; that there shall no longer be any political parties in the state; that learning and morality, and good taste, shall be in unison, and that these only shall form the basis of their prosperity and improvement. He wishes that criticism should maintain respect for decency, in order to be useful; and that men, who are called to the sublime office of enlightening and improving the community, should despise idle flattery.

“The government cannot but be contented with the members of the church in general. The same purity of morals, toleration, disinterestedness and zeal, distinguish all ranks, and evince the devotion of all.

“The Jews, who now bear the name of Frenchmen, in consequence of the gracious dispositions of his Majesty in their favour, have become worthy of that name.

“Such is the exposition of the improvements, which have been



brought to perfection in the interior, since the last sitting. Several other branches of the government have been advanced, and are now in a situation the most advantageous. France, among all the states of Europe, is the only one without paper money. Its commerce, interrupted by unavoidable circumstances, preserves the hope of renovation in the seed that remains. The arms of France have been carried to the furthest extremities of Europe; its influence extended beyond the Bosphorus and into the centre of the continent of Asia; the most complete order prevails in our interior; England alone remaining overwhelmed with the burden of the war, and the hatred of nations: these are the effects of one year and the encouraging prospect of that which is to follow."

M. Fontanes answered, "that the statement which was laid before the legislative body was made up from the exploits of a prince who was a lover of peace: that if the Emperor, 500 miles from his capital, had effected so much in favour of his people, and the glory of the arts, what would he not have performed in the bosom of peace, and in the midst of his capital? The improvements that have been introduced into the various branches of the internal government, prove that the irresistible power which overturns empires and establishes thrones is still far inferior to that wisdom which has established morality upon the immoveable basis of the law."

The legislative body ordered the exposition of the state of the Empire to be printed, together with the speech of the president, and that six copies of them be distributed to each member.

M. Preamenau and Real, offered the *project* of a law relative to the Napoleon Code, which was to be taken into consideration on the 3d of September.

The war which had been for some time waged between Russia and the Ottomon Porte, and which originated in the Russian army under General Michelson, having entered Moldavia, and in taking possession of Chotzim, Bender, and Jassi has through the mediation of Buonaparté, conformably to the



conditions of the treaty of Tilsit been brought to a conclusion.

The Porte, it is true, in the first instance, violated its engagements, by deposing the hospodors, which, by a settled convention between Russia and Turkey, in 1802, were to remain in office for seven years, and not to be removed from their governments before the expiration of that term, without the concurrence of the Russian minister at Constantinople; but this error, which was momentary, had been subsequently retracted and atoned for. The Porte had, likewise, hesitated in granting a passage through the Bosphorus, to Russian armed vessels; not from any ill-will to Russia, but from its fear of France, which, however, was at length permitted; and in its last declaration to Italinski, every assurance was made to maintain inviolate its alliance with the court of St. Petersburg; but when the news of Michelson's invasion reached Constantinople, that city was filled with indignation and surprise. The cry for war was universal, especially among the Janizaries and Ulemas, whose religious fanaticism and general hatred of Europeans, were inflamed by the perfidy of the faithless Muscovites, the objects alike of their superstitious dread, and deep rooted aversion. Yet so unwilling was the Turkish government to engage in hostilities with Russia, that more than thirty days were suffered to elapse before war was determined upon and declared. The Ottomans, however, have at length obtained a favourable peace, and are once more replaced in full possession of those provinces, of which they had, for a time, been deprived by the

successful conquests of Russia: the following are the terms of the treaty of peace concluded between them:—

### TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE PORTE.

ART. I. From the date of the signature of the treaty, all hostilities shall cease between the two belligerent powers.

II. As the sublime Porte and Russia equally wish with the most amicable intention, the establishment of peace and harmony, the high contracting parties will appoint after the signature of the present armistice, plenipotentiaries to negotiate and conclude a peace as soon as possible, to meet in the most convenient situation for both.

If in the course of the negociation for a definitive peace, difficulties should unfortunately arise, so as to obstruct a definitive arrangement, hostilities shall not re-commence before next spring that is so say before the 21st March, 1808, Now Stile of the Christian Æra.

III. As soon as the present armistice is signed, the Russian troops shall begin to evacuate Wallachia and Moldavia, and all the provinces, fortresses, and other territory which they have occupied during the war: and to retire within their antient frontiers, so that the said evacuation shall be completed in the space of thirty-five days from the date of the signature of the present armistice.

The Russian troops shall leave in the territory and fortresses which they shall evacuate, all the effects, cannon, and ammunition, which they found on taking possession of them.

The sublime Porte shall appoint commissaries, to receive the aforesaid fortresses from Russian officers appointed for the aforesaid purpose.

The Ottoman troops shall in like manner, retire from Moldavia and Wallachia, and repass the Danube. They will only leave in the fortresses of Ismail, Brailow, Giurgion, garrisons sufficient to keep them.

The Russian troops shall correspond with the Ottomans, so that the two armies shall begin to retire at the same time from Wallachia and Moldavia.

The two contracting parties shall in no way meddle with the administration of the two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, till the arrival of plenipotentiaries charged with the office of negotiating for a definitive peace.

Till peace is concluded, the Ottoman troops shall not enter any of the fortresses evacuated by the Russians. The inhabitants alone shall be at liberty to enter them.

IV. Conformably to the preceding article, the Island of Tenedos, as well as every other place in the Archipelago, which be-

fore the intelligence of the armistice shall have arrived, shall be occupied by the Russian's troops, shall be evacuated.

The Russian troops which are stationed before Tenedos, or any other place in the Archipelago, shall return to their ports, in order that the Dardanelles shall be at once open and free.

If the Russian ships in proceeding to their ports shall be obliged to stop at any port in the Archipelago, in consequence of tempestuous weather, or any other unavoidable accident, the Turkish officers shall not oppose any obstacle, but on the contrary, shall afford them the necessary aid.

All the ships of war, or other Ottoman vessels, which, during the war shall have fallen into the hands of the Russians shall be restored, with their crews, as well as the Russian vessels, which shall have fallen into the hands of the Ottomans. The Russian ships in proceeding to their ports shall not take on board any subject of the Sublime Porte.

V. All the vessels of the Russian flotilla stationed at the mouth of the Bosphorus or elsewhere, shall go out and proceed to their ports, in order that the Ottoman vessels may go out and come in with perfect safety.

The Sublime Porte will give orders that the Russian vessels proceeding to their ports shall be respected, and that they shall be permitted to enter into any Ottoman port in case they should be obliged to do so by tempestuous weather or any other inevitable accident.

VI. All the prisoners of war and other slaves of both sexes, of whatever quality or rank, shall be immediately liberated and restored on both sides, without any ransom, with the exception of Mussulmen who shall have voluntarily embraced the christian religion in the Russian empire, and the christian subjects of Russia who shall have voluntarily embraced the mahometan religion in the Ottoman empire.

Immediately after the conclusion of the present armistice, all the commanders, officers, and inhabitants of the fortresses of Turkey, who are at present in Russia, shall be restored and sent to Turkey with all their property and baggage.

VII. The present treaty of armistice written in Turkish and in French, has been signed by the two plenipotentiaries, and by the Adjutant Commandant Guilleminot, and has been exchanged in order that it may be ratified by the Grand Vizier and by his excellency the General in Chief Michelson.

The two plenipotentiaries shall take care that the said ratifications shall be exchanged within one week, or sooner if possible.

Done and decreed at the Castle of S. Sossia near Giurgion, the 20th of the month of Dgemazul-Ahr, the year of the Hegira 1222, and the 12th of August (old style), or the 24th of August 1807 (new style), of the christian æra.

Signed,

GALIB EFFENDI.

SERGIO LA KAROFF.

GUILLEMINOT.

Among the passing events of the current year, we find that the Cardinal York, who was the last of the Stuart family, and who once assumed the title of Henry IX. died at Rome, aged 82; though a pretender to his crown, *his Majesty of England* has for some years allowed him a pension of 4,000*l.* per annum. The Paris papers state that the Cardinal has bequeathed to the king of Sardinia, jewels to the value of four millions of francs; the Cardinal has also solemnly declared, as far as a pretender can declare, his Sardinian majesty to be heir to the crown of England and Scotland, and bequeathed to him the royal titles accordingly.



CHAPTER IV.

*War with Russia and England.—Their respective Declarations against each other.—Russian Ukase.—French Remarks on the British Declaration.—Prussian Ports shut against England, &c.*

WE have already slightly noticed, in the first chapter of the present volume, how deeply incensed the Emperor of Russia had felt himself at the English expedition to Copenhagen; the unfortunate results of which, were no sooner made known to him, than he assumed a tone of the most hostile displeasure towards Great Britain, and which will be found very fully expressed in the following

DECLARATION OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

“The higher the value in which the Emperor held the amity of his Britannic Majesty, the keener the regret he must feel at the complete alienation of that Monarch.—Twice has the Emperor taken up arms in a cause in which the interests of England were most immediately concerned; but he has solicited to no purpose her co-operation to promote the accomplishment of her own objects. He did not require she should unite her forces with his: he was anxious only she should make a diversion in their favour. He was astonished that in the furtherance of her own cause she herself would make no exertion. On the contrary, she looked on, a cold spectatrix of the sanguinary theatre of the war, which she had herself kindled, and sent a part of her troops to attack Buenos Ayres. Another portion of her army, which seemed to be destined to make a diversion in Italy, finally withdrew from Sicily, where it was assembled. Hopes were entertained that they had taken that step, in order to throw themselves on the Neapolitan coast; but it was soon understood that they were employed in taking possession of Egypt.

“But what most sensibly hurt the feelings of his Imperial Majesty was, to see that in violation of the faith and express stipulations of treaties, England annoyed the maritime trade of his subjects; and at what period was this proceeding adopted. When the blood of the Russians was flowing in the glorious battles which



accumulated and directed against the armies of his Imperial Majesty the whole of the military force of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, with whom England was, and still is, at war!

"When the two Emperors made peace, his Majesty, notwithstanding his just causes of displeasure at the conduct of England, did not, however, refrain from endeavouring to render her services. The Emperor stipulated in that very treaty that he should interpose his mediation between England and France; and he accordingly made an offer of that mediation to the King of Great Britain, apprising him that it was with a wish to obtain honourable conditions for him. But the British ministry, adhering no doubt to the plan that was to dissolve and break off all the ties between Russia and England, rejected that mediation.—The peace between Russia and France was likely to bring about a general peace, but it was at this moment that England suddenly awoke from that apparent lethargy in which she had slumbered; though it was only to throw into the North fresh firebrands, which were to re-kindle, and actually have re-kindled, the flames of a war which she was desirous not to see extinguished—her fleets, her troops, appeared on the Danish coasts, to execute an act of violence of which history, so fruitful in examples, records no parallel!—A power distinguished for its peaceful and moderate conduct, and for a long and unexpected course of wise neutrality, and who sustained, amidst surrounding Monarchies, a kind of moral dignity, finds itself treated as if it was engaged in a secret plot, and was meditating the downfall of England; while the whole of these imputations were only meant to justify the sudden and entire spoliation of that power.

"The Emperor, wounded in his dignity, wounded in the affection he feels for his people, wounded in his engagements with the courts of the North, by this act of violence committed in the Baltic, a close sea, the tranquillity of which has so long depended on the court of St. James's, and is reciprocally guaranteed by both powers, did not dissemble his resentment against England, and warned her that he should not remain indifferent to such a proceeding. His Majesty did not foresee, that while England having successfully employed her forces, was on the point of seizing on her prey, she would offer a fresh outrage to Denmark, in which his Majesty was to bear part. New propositions, still more insidious than those made at first were made to Denmark, which aimed at binding down to England that power thus subjugated, degraded, and applauding, as it were, every thing that had happened. Still less did the Emperor foresee that it would be proposed to him to guarantee that submission, and to promise that the act of violence should not be attended with any mischievous consequence to England.—The English ambassador seems to have imagined that he might venture to propose to the minister of the Emperor, that his Imperial Majesty should undertake the apology and defence of a proceeding which his Majesty had so



openly condemned. To this step on the part of the cabinet of St. James's, his Majesty has thought proper to pay only that attention which it deserved, and has deemed it high time to set limits to his moderation.

"The Prince Royal of Denmark, endowed with a character full of nobleness and energy, and having been blessed by Providence with a soul as elevated as his rank, had apprized the Emperor that, justly enraged against what had recently happened at Copenhagen, he had not ratified the convention respecting it, and that he considered it as null and void.

"That Prince has just now acquainted his Majesty with the new propositions that have been made to him, and which are of a nature rather to provoke his resistance, than to appease his resentment, for they tend to stamp on his actions the seal of degradation, the impress of which they never will exhibit.

"The Emperor, struck with the confidence which the Prince Royal placed in him, having moreover considered his own grounds of dissatisfaction with England, having attended to his engagements with the powers of the North—engagements entered into by the empress Catharine, and by his late Imperial Majesty, both of glorious memory, has resolved upon fulfilling them.

"His Imperial Majesty breaks off all communication with England: he recalls his embassy from that court, and will not allow any ambassador from her to continue at his court. There shall henceforward exist no relations between the two countries.

"The Emperor declares that he abrogates for ever every act hitherto concluded between Great Britain and Russia, and particularly the convention concluded in 1801. He proclaims anew the principles of the armed neutrality, that monument of the wisdom of the Empress Catharine, and binds himself never to recede from that system.

"He calls upon England to give complete satisfaction to his subjects, with respect to all the just claims they may set up, of ships and merchandizes seized and detained contrary to the express tenor of the treaties concluded during his own reign.

"The Emperor gives warning, that nothing shall be re-established between Russia and England, until the latter shall have given satisfaction to Denmark.

"The Emperor expects, that his Britannic Majesty, instead of permitting his ministers to scatter fresh seeds of war, in compliance only with his own feelings, will be induced to conclude a peace with his Majesty the Emperor of the French, which would be extending, in a manner, to the whole world, the inestimable blessings of peace.

"When the Emperor shall be satisfied upon all these points, and especially upon that of a peace between France and England, without which no part of Europe can expect to enjoy any real tranquillity, his Imperial Majesty will then willingly return to the relations of amity with Great Britain, which in the state of just resentment which the Emperor should feel, he has maintained, perhaps, too long."

*Done at Petersburg the 26th October, 1807.*

Whatever may be the views or motives of the Emperor of Russia on this occasion, he has certainly urged some strong grounds of complaint that we can no where find refuted. The conduct of Britain, towards Denmark, cannot be defended; so that what has been asserted on this subject, appears to us an incontrovertible truth; and although England has published a counter-declaration, which we shall give entire to our readers, we cannot perceive she has, in the least, vindicated herself from the foul reproaches, and disgraceful acts, that have been imputed to her.

The first cause of complaint on the part of Russia is, that England whose objects she had espoused as well as her own, to circumscribe the powers of France, had neglected affording her that assistance necessary to her prosecution of the war with the latter; while England was sending her forces to effect the unimportant conquest of Buenos Ayres, and in taking possession of Egypt, &c. The outrage committed against Denmark, on which certainly a far more reasonable and justifiable stress has been laid, forms another point of Russian inveteracy towards England.

The rejection of his imperial majesty's offers of mediation between Britain and France, we cannot, however, look upon as a sufficient reason for declaring hostilities against England, whose fate is happily disjoined, not by her policy so much, as her local existence from the subjective measures and continental warfare of the French Emperor. The grand point in dispute with Russia and England, notwithstanding the other ostensible reasons that seem to be set forth as the cause of the present

rupture between these two governments, are the maritime claims so long asserted by the latter, and which has already excited so much jealousy and discontent to the other states of Europe. Both seem resolved to contest that sovereignty which Great Britain alone possesses over the freedom of the ocean, and on these grounds, neither of them seem disposed to yield. The recriminating answer which the Emperor of Russia's feelings and sentiments called forth, on the part of his Britannic Majesty, will here be seen in the

### BRITISH DECLARATION.

“The Declaration issued at St. Petersburg by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, has excited in his Majesty's mind, the strongest sensations of astonishment and regret.

“His Majesty was not unaware of the nature of those secret engagements which had been imposed upon Russia in the conferences of Tilsit; but his Majesty had entertained the hope, that a review of the transactions of that unfortunate negotiation, and a just estimate of its effects upon the glory of the Russian name, and upon the interests of the Russian empire, would have induced his Imperial Majesty to extricate himself from the embarrassment of those new councils and connexions which he had adopted in a moment of despondency and alarm; and to return to a policy more congenial to the principles which he has so invariably professed, and more conducive to the honour of his crown, and to the prosperity of his dominions.

“This hope has dictated to his Majesty the utmost forbearance and moderation in all his diplomatic intercourse with the court of St. Petersburg since the peace of Tilsit.

“His Majesty had much cause for suspicion, and just ground of complaint. But he abstained from the language of reproach. His Majesty deemed it necessary to require specific explanation with respect to those arrangements with France, the concealment of which from his Majesty could not but confirm the impression already received of their character and tendency. But his Majesty, nevertheless, directed the demand of that explanation to be made, not only without asperity or the indication of any hostile disposition but with that considerate regard to the feelings and situation of the Emperor of Russia, which resulted from the recollection of former friendship, and from confidence interrupted but not destroyed.

“The declaration of the Emperor of Russia proves that the object of his Majesty's forbearance and moderation has not been attain-

ed. It proves unhappily, that the influence of that power, which is equally and essentially the enemy both of Great Britain and of Russia, has acquired a decided ascendancy in the councils of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, and has been able to excite a causeless enmity between two nations whose long established connexions, and whose mutual interests, prescribed the most intimate union and co-operation.

“ His Majesty deeply laments the extension of the calamities of war. But called upon as he is, to defend himself against an act of unprovoked hostility, his Majesty is anxious to refute, in the face of the world, the pretexts by which that act is attempted to be justified.

“ The declaration asserts, that his Majesty the Emperor of Russia has twice taken up arms in a cause in which the interests of Great Britain was more direct than his own; and founds upon this assertion the charge against Great Britain of having neglected to second and support the military operations of Russia.

“ His Majesty willingly does justice to the motives which originally engaged Russia in the great struggle against France. His Majesty avows, with equal readiness, the interest which Great Britain has uniformly taken in the fates and fortunes of the powers of the continent. But it would surely be difficult to prove that Great Britain, who was herself in a state of hostility with Prussia when the war broke out between Prussia and France, had an interest and a duty more direct in espousing the Prussian quarrel, than the Emperor of Russia; the ally of his Prussian Majesty, the Protector of the North of Europe, and the guarantee of the Germanic constitution.

“ It is not in a public declaration that his Majesty can discuss the policy of having, at any particular period of the war, effected, or omitted to effect, dis-embarkations of troops on the coasts of Naples.—But the instance of the war with the Porte is still more singularly chosen to illustrate the charge against Great Britain of indifference to the interests of her ally: a war undertaken by Great Britain at the instigation of Russia, and solely for the purpose of maintaining Russian interests against the influence of France.

It, however, the peace of Tilsit is, indeed to be considered as the consequence and the punishment of the imputed inactivity of Great Britain, his Majesty cannot but regret that the Emperor of Russia should have resorted to so precipitate and fatal a measure, at the moment when he had received distinct assurances that his Majesty was making the most strenuous exertions to fulfil the wishes and expectations of his ally (assurances which his Imperial Majesty received and acknowledged with apparent confidence and satisfaction); and when his Majesty was, in fact, preparing to employ for the advancement of the common objects of the war, those forces which, after the peace of Tilsit, he was under the necessity of employing to disconcert a combination directed against his own immediate interest and security.

“ The vexation of Russian commerce by Great Britain is, in



truth, little more than an imaginary grievance. Upon a diligent examination, made by his Majesty's command, of the records of the British court of Admiralty, there has been discovered only a solitary instance in the course of the present war, of the condemnation of a vessel really Russian: a vessel which had carried naval stores to a port of the common enemy. There are but few instances of Russian vessels detained, and none in which justice has been refused to a party regularly complaining of such detention. It is therefore matter of surprise, as well as of concern to his Majesty, that the Emperor of Russia should have condescended to bring forward a complaint, which, as it cannot be seriously felt by those in whose behalf it is urged, might appear to be intended to countenance those exaggerated declamations by which France perseveringly endeavours to inflame the jealousy of other countries, and to justify her own inveterate animosity against Great Britain.

"The peace of Tilsit was followed by an offer of mediation on the part of the Emperor of Russia, for the conclusion of a peace between Great Britain and France, which it is asserted that his Majesty refused.

"His Majesty did not refuse the mediation of the Emperor of Russia: although the offer of it was accompanied by circumstances of concealment which might well have justified his refusal. The articles of the treaty of Tilsit were not communicated to his Majesty: and specifically that article of the treaty, in virtue of which the mediation was proposed; and which prescribed a limited time for the return of his Majesty's answer to that proposal. And his Majesty was thus led into an apparent compliance with a limitation so offensive to the dignity of an independent Sovereign. But the answer so returned by his Majesty was not a refusal. It was a conditional acceptance. The conditions required by his Majesty were—a statement of the basis upon which the enemy was disposed to treat; and a communication of the articles of the peace of Tilsit. The first of these conditions were precisely the same which the Emperor of Russia had himself annexed not four months before to his own acceptance of the proffered mediation of the Emperor of Austria. The second was one which his Majesty would have had a right to require even as the ally of his Imperial Majesty; but which it would have been highly improvident to omit, when he was invited to confide to his Imperial Majesty the care of his honour and of his interests.

"But even if these conditions (neither of which has been fulfilled, although the fulfilment of them has been repeatedly required by his Majesty's ambassador at St. Petersburg) had not been in themselves perfectly natural and necessary; there were not wanting considerations which might have warranted his Majesty in endeavouring, with more than ordinary anxiety, to ascertain the views and intentions of the Emperor of Russia, and the precise nature and effect of the new relations which his Imperial Majesty had contracted.

"The complete abandonment of the interests of the King of

Prussia (who had twice rejected proposals of separate peace, from a strict adherence to his engagements with his imperial ally), and the character of those provisions which the Emperor of Russia was contented to make for his own interests in the negotiations of Tilsit, presented no encouraging prospect of the result of any exertions which his Imperial Majesty might be disposed to employ in favour of Great Britain.

“It is not while a French army still occupies and lays waste the remaining dominions of the King of Prussia, in spite of the stipulations of the Prussian treaty of Tilsit; while contributions are arbitrarily exacted by France from that remnant of the Prussian Monarchy, such as, in its entire and most flourishing state, the Prussian Monarchy would have been unable to discharge; while the surrender is demanded, in time of peace, of Prussian fortresses, which had not been reduced during the war; and while the power of France is exercised over Prussia with such shameless tyranny, as to designate and demand for instant death, individuals, subjects of his Prussian Majesty, and resident in his dominions, upon a charge of disrespect towards the French government; it is not while all these things are done and suffered, under the eyes of the Emperor of Russia, and without his interference on behalf of his ally, that his Majesty can feel himself called upon to account to Europe for having hesitated to repose an unconditional confidence in the efficacy of his Imperial Majesty’s mediation.

“Nor, even if that mediation had taken full effect, if a peace had been concluded under it, and that peace guaranteed by his Imperial Majesty, could his Majesty have placed implicit reliance on the stability of any such arrangement, after having seen the Emperor of Russia openly transfer to France the sovereignty of the Ionian republic, the independence of which his Imperial Majesty had recently and solemnly guaranteed.

“But while the alleged rejection of the Emperor of Russia’s mediation, between Great Britain and France, is stated as a just ground of his Imperial Majesty’s resentment: his Majesty’s request of that mediation, for the re-establishment of peace between Great Britain and Denmark, is represented as an insult which it was beyond the bounds of his Imperial Majesty’s moderation to endure.

“His Majesty feels himself under no obligation to offer any atonement or apology to the Emperor of Russia for the expedition against Copenhagen. It is not for those who were parties to the secret arrangements of Tilsit to demand satisfaction for a measure to which those arrangements gave rise, and by which one of the objects of them has been happily defeated.

“His Majesty’s justification of the expedition against Copenhagen is before the world. The Declaration of the Emperor of Russia would supply whatever was wanting in it, if any thing could be wanting to convince the most incredulous of the urgency of that necessity under which his Majesty acted.

“But until the Russian Declaration was published, his Majesty



had no reason to suspect that any opinions which the Emperor of Russia might entertain of the transaction at Copenhagen, could be such as to preclude his Imperial Majesty from undertaking, at the request of Great Britain, that same office of mediator, which he had assumed with so much alacrity on the behalf of France; nor can his Majesty forget that the first symptoms of reviving confidence, since the peace of Tilsit, the only prospect of success in the endeavours of his Majesty's ambassador to restore the ancient and good understanding between Great Britain and Russia, appeared when the intelligence of the siege of Copenhagen had been recently received at St. Petersburg.

"The inviolability of the Baltic sea, and the reciprocal guarantees of the powers that border upon it, guarantees said to have been contracted with the knowledge of the British government, are stated as aggravations of his Majesty's proceedings in the Baltic. It cannot be intended to represent his Majesty as having at any time acquiesced in the principles upon which the inviolability of the Baltic is maintained; however his Majesty may at particular periods have forborne, for special reasons, influencing his conduct at the time, to act in contradiction to them. Such forbearance never could have applied but to a state of peace and real neutrality in the North; and his Majesty most assuredly could not be expected to recur to it, after France has been suffered to establish herself in undisputed sovereignty along the whole coast of the Baltic sea from Dantzic to Lubeck.

"But the higher the value which the Emperor of Russia places on the engagements respecting the tranquillity of the Baltic, which he describes himself as inheriting from his immediate predecessors, the Empress Catherine and the Emperor Paul, the less justly can his Imperial Majesty resent the appeal made to him by his Majesty as the guarantee of the peace to be concluded between Great Britain and Denmark. In making that appeal, with the utmost confidence and sincerity, his Majesty neither intended, nor can he imagine that he offered any insult to the Emperor of Russia. Nor can his Majesty conceive that, in proposing to the Prince Royal terms of peace, such as the most successful war on the part of Denmark could hardly have been expected to extort from Great Britain, his Majesty rendered himself liable to the imputation, either of exasperating the resentment, or of outraging the dignity, of Denmark.

"His Majesty has thus replied to all the different accusations by which the Russian government labours to justify the rupture of a connexion which has subsisted for ages, with reciprocal advantage to Great Britain and Russia, and attempts to disguise the operation of that external influence by which Russia is driven into unjust hostilities for interests not her own.

"The Russian Declaration proceeds to announce the several conditions on which alone these hostilities can be terminated, and the intercourse of the two countries renewed.

“His Majesty has already had occasion to assert, that justice has in no instance been denied to the claims of his Imperial Majesty’s subjects.”

“The termination of the war with Denmark has been so anxiously sought by his Majesty, that it cannot be necessary for his Majesty to renew any professions upon that subject. But his Majesty is at a loss to reconcile the Emperor of Russia’s present anxiety for the completion of such an arrangement, with his Imperial Majesty’s recent refusal to contribute his good offices for effecting it.”

“The requisition of his Imperial Majesty for the immediate conclusion, by his Majesty, of a peace with France, is as extraordinary in the substance, as it is offensive in the manner. His Majesty has at no time declined to treat with France, when France has professed a willingness to treat on any admissible basis. - And the Emperor of Russia cannot fail to remember, that the last negotiation between Great Britain and France was broken off upon points immediately affecting not his Majesty’s own interests, but those of his imperial ally. But his Majesty neither understands, nor will he admit the pretension of the Emperor of Russia to dictate the time or the mode of his Majesty’s pacific negotiations with other powers. It never will be endured by his Majesty that any government shall indemnify itself for the humiliation of subserviency to France, by the adoption of an insulting and peremptory tone towards Great Britain.”

“His Majesty proclaims anew those principles of maritime law, against which the armed neutrality, under the auspices of the Empress Catharine, was originally directed; and against which the present hostilities of Russia are denounced. Those principles have been recognised and acted upon in the best periods of the history of Europe; and acted upon by no power with more strictness and severity than by Russia herself in the reign of the Empress Catharine.

“Those principles it is the right and the duty of his Majesty to maintain: against every confederacy his Majesty is determined, under the blessings of Divine Providence, to maintain them. They have at all times contributed essentially to the support of the maritime power of Great Britain; but they are become incalculably more valuable and important at a period when the maritime power of Great Britain constitutes the sole remaining bulwark against the overwhelming usurpations of France; the only refuge to which other nations may yet resort, in happier times, for assistance and protection.

“When the opportunity for peace between Great Britain and Russia shall arrive, his Majesty will embrace it with eagerness. The arrangements of such a negotiation will not be difficult or complicated.—His Majesty, as he has nothing to concede, so he has nothing to require: satisfied, if Russia shall manifest a disposition to return to her ancient feelings of friendship towards Great Britain; to a just consideration of her own true interests; and to a sense of her own dignity as an independent nation.”

*Westminster, Dec. 18, 1807.*

That nothing might be omitted to harass and distress England in her trade with the continent, a Ukase was shortly published, signed by his Imperial Majesty of the Russias, interdicting all commerce with Great Britain or with British Subjects. It enjoins an embargo on all British vessels, and on all property on board the same, and also such good as were landed and warehoused. It also provides that their immoveable property, though left in their possession, shall not be sold, mortgaged, or transferred into other hands, and that a committee of the most respectable Russian merchants shall be appointed in all the Russian ports to conduct the embargo, and whatever expences accrue on this occasion, to be defrayed out of the revenues of the respective custom houses, and placed to the account of the sequestered ships and goods.

### RUSSIAN UKASE.

*To Count Nicolay Petrowituck Romanzoff.*

In consequence of the present political circumstances, which have compelled us to break off all connections with Britain, we order:

I. An embargo to be laid on all British ships in our harbours, and on all property of the British on board of the same, as also on that at change and in the custom-house pack-houses.

II. Their immoveable property, and what does not consist of goods, to be left in their possession as heretofore, but not to be allowed to be sold, mortgaged, or transferred into other hands. Taking such measures merely from our evident mercy to them, we hope they will not, during the existing difference, transgress their duty by actions which might prove prejudicial to Russia, and thus incur our just displeasure, but live in due quietness and tranquillity.

III. Concerning the embargo, a committee is to be appointed at this port, of the most respectable Russian merchants, and of one member of the college of commerce, authorising you, to select these men; we leave it to you to form this committee, and to inform us of the same.

IV. Similar committees to be appointed in Riga and Archangel, which are to be dependent on the one here. The selection and appointment of the members of them to be left to the military

Governors, directing also the civil department, and where no such are, to the civil governors.

V. The charges which may accrue on this occasion to be provided from the revenues of the respective custom-houses, and placed to the account of the sequestered ships and goods.

We are, &c.

(Signed by his Imperial Majesty's hand,)

ALEXANDER.

*St. Petersburg, Oct. 28, 1807.*

The language of the French government, on the subject of the British declaration, although replete with many severe invectives, does not seem altogether destitute of truth. The cabinet of London has, indeed, been in great error, in resting its defence of the present war with Russia, solely, on the alledged grounds of the secret engagements of the latter with France in the conferences at Tilsit. Well may it be asked, after the formal disavowal of both Russia and France, that no such engagements did exist to the prejudice of England, Why did not the British government make them known at a time, when the mere communication of those secret stipulations, of which she claimed to have some knowledge, would have justified her conduct in the eyes of Europe, and increased the zeal and energy of every British heart in her cause? why did she permit a Russian squadron to escape from the Mediterranean and enter the *straits* of Giberalter, and allow a passage to three Russian vessels coming from the North sea, through her blockading fleet, then at Copenhagen; if she had any suspicion of the treachery and perfidy of her antient ally? or if this ally had really compromised, by her *secret acts*, the interests of England, why did the cabinet of London have recourse to its mediation, in order to conciliate its differences with Denmark? These questions France has proposed in the strongest terms, with a design to expose the subtur-

fuge which England has resorted to, for the purpose of vindicating its own acts of unprovoked violence and aggression on Denmark, and to falsify the assertions, that the cabinet of London had good cause, or reason, to distrust the sincerity of the Court of St. Petersburg, in its offer of mediation between France and Great Britain.

England invites Russia to renounce her agreements with Buonaparté, and to extricate herself from those connections that had been adopted in a moment of despondency and alarm; certainly such an invitation does not savour much of good faith or sound policy on the part of England, whom it has hence been inferred only signs treaties which are made to suit its occasional convenience, and being stimulated by no other consideration than its own immediate advantage, she either keeps or violates them, as may best suit her caprice or interest.

His Britannic Majesty, in adverting to the motives which originally engaged Russia in the great struggle against France, has also furnished no unimportant comment. On this point it is observed, that England has betrayed an ignorance of the occurrences of our own times, and that the history of the events of 1805, have been confounded together with those of a more recent date. It will indeed readily be admitted, that Great Britain has uniformly taken an interest in the fates and fortunes of the powers of the continent. Yet in every coalition she has formed with these powers, she has been as uniformly baffled. She had precipitated an Austrian army into disgrace and defeat before they could be joined by the Russian troops, who were still in Poland, when



the battle of Ulm was decided. Can England then deny that it was for her that Austria and Russia have made war; and although the former had concluded a peace, the latter remained stedfast to her engagement with Britain, and even adhered to her cause after a Russian plenipotentiary had signed a treaty of peace at Paris. Russia did not ratify it for the sole reason, that having in conjunction with England made war, it was only in concert with her, she wished to make peace; while the cabinet of London were employing the forces of Britain to the single object and benefit of England, without any regard to the interest of her ally. If the English squadron, which forced the Dardanelles, had chosen to unite with the Russian squadron; if it had taken on board the 10,000 men which were sent to Egypt, and united them to the 12,000 Russians at Corfu, the attack upon Constantinople would have been an effectual diversion for Russia. But so totally opposite was this to the conduct pursued by England, that, after having sustained an indelible disgrace before Constantinople, she made an Expedition to Egypt, which did not deprive the Grand Vizier of a single man, and which had nothing in common with the quarrel in which she had engaged with Russia.

Nor had England been more alert in furnishing the necessary succours to Dantzic when it was yet in the possession of Kalkreuth. If to the 12,000 men who had laid down their arms and capitulated in the streets of Buenos Ayres, England had joined the 15,000, which have since set Copenhagen in flames, these forces, it is true, would not have afforded a triumph to the arms of Britain.—France was



in an attitude of science,—she respected England enough to expect greater efforts, but Russia would not have been able to complain. It was of little moment to the cabinet of London, that two nations of the continent were massacring each other on the Vistula. The treasures of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres excited her cupidity, and Dantzick received no succour. Russia had vainly expected to see an army of 40,000 English, not in the month of July, but in April, landed at Stralsund or Dantzick, to co-operate with her. Has England furnished these troops? was she able to do it? if she answers in the negative, she had little title to make so great demands upon her allies; but her ministers were wanting in inclination, they calculate the results of war at so much *per cent*; they think only of profit, and the fields of Poland presented nothing but danger, and glory. If at length England had taken part in some battle, English blood must have been spilled; the people of Great Britain, upon learning the sacrifices which war requires, would have wished for peace; the mourning of fathers,—mothers weeping for their children fallen in the fields of honour, might, perhaps, have produced, even in the hearts of those ministers, the same sentiments which a long war has inspired in the French, Russians, and the Austrians.

The British Cabinet in its turn, could not prevent itself from feeling a horror at perpetual war, or else the men of blood who compose it, would be execrated by the people. The war on land, is not like a war by sea; the strongest fleets does not require more than 15,000 men, abundantly supplied with provisions, and having no privations to suffer. The great-

est sea fight is not equal to a skirmish on land, and costs but little blood or tears. France, Austria, and Russia, employ in war armies 400,000 men who are exposed to all sorts of dangers, and who are daily fighting. With them the desire of peace arises, even in the bosom of victory, and in sovereigns, who are the fathers of their subjects, it finds a place among the dearest sentiments of their hearts.

It is wholly denied that contributions have been levied by France on the Prussian States, in the manner adverted to by the British declaration; but, on the contrary, that those which existed during the war, have since been discontinued. All the countries between the Niemen and Vistula, including a population of more than a million, have also been evacuated. Some other provinces, however, are still retained by the French, because the preliminary arrangements with the King of Prussia had not then finally terminated. Besides their subsequent retention on the part of France had been deemed expedient, as a measure of precaution, against the intriguing influence of Great Britain to insinuate its trade into the Prussian territories.

It has been asked what motive could have induced the ministers of London to mention Prussia in this manifesto? is it to benefit Prussia; will it conciliate the good will of France towards her situation, of which it must be confessed she stands in great need? the Prussian monarch being now nothing more than the mere tenant at will of a throne; held at the disposal of Buonaparté.

In the general replications made by his Britannic Majesty to the Russian Government, in respect to its avowed hostility to England, the French papers,

though very diffuse in their comments on this subject, has in no few instances overstepped the bounds of moderation. As is usual on such occasions, they ascribe to the policy of England every arbitrary and disgraceful act; while the more mild and liberal policy of France is unceasingly extolled as replete with every excellence. We cannot, however, subscribe our unqualified assent to such assertions; nor as lovers of truth and impartiality, could we consistently embrace any greater portion of those comments, than what we have here submitted.

In pursuing the subject of our history, we are aware that many public documents will obtrude themselves on our readers, which they may have before seen; but as these are connected with a series of events that are subsequently to follow, and as they will form no unimportant link in the great chain that unites the present state of the world with the dynasty of Buonaparté, we have thought it best to preserve many of them in their original form, and which we doubt not will be found extremely useful, to all, who wish for a full and entire illustration of the causes and consequences, produced by these documents, in various parts of the globe.



## CHAPTER V.

*A new Parliament chosen, and convened in England—Its Discussions on the State of Ireland and on the Insurrection Bill, intended to allay the Disturbance in that Country.—Grant made to Maynooth College, by the Parliament of England, for the Education of Roman Catholic Clergy.—State of the British Government, in India and of the Police at Madras.—Mas acree of the English at Vellore.—Friendship of the Persian Monarchy to France.—Sends an Ambassador to Paris.—Object of his Mission.—Final Abolition of the Slave Trade in England.—Establishment of the African Institution, &c.*

THE former British Parliament having been dissolved in the course of the present year, on grounds of political expediency, relative to the situation of Ireland, and on which we do not think it necessary to offer any remarks of our own, a new one was assembled about the latter end of June, which was opened, as has been usual of late, by a royal deputation, consisting of the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Dartmouth, and Lord Aylesford. In the Speech delivered in his Majesty's name, by the Lord Chancellor, it is expressly stated, "That his Majesty had received numerous addresses from his subjects, since the close of the last parliament, replete with the warmest assurances of their affectionate attachment to his person and government, and of their firm resolution to support him in maintaining the just rights of his Crown, and the true principles of the Constitution. That his Ma-

jesty has been most anxiously employed for the purpose of drawing closer the ties by which his Majesty is connected with the powers of the continent, of assisting the efforts of those powers against the ambition and oppression of France, of forming such engagements as may ensure their continued co-operation, and of establishing that mutual confidence and concert, so essential, under any course of events, to the restoration of a solid and permanent peace in Europe. That it would have given his Majesty pleasure to have announced a more fortunate issue of the mediation he had undertaken for preserving peace between the Emperor of Russia and the Sublime Porte, while he deeply regrets its failure and the disappointments experienced by his Majesty's squadron in the sea of Marmora, followed, as it has been, by the losses sustained by his gallant troops in Egypt. And his Majesty still further laments, that in thus directing his forces, he should have created a diversion in the war so favourable to the views of France. But that his Majesty had thought it right to adopt such measures as might best enable him, in concert with the Emperor of Russia, to take advantage of any opportunity for concluding the hostilities in which they were engaged against the Sublime Porte, in a manner consistent with his Majesty's honour and the interests of his ally. His Majesty concludes by recommending a spirit of union and harmony amongst his people, as a means successfully to carry on the great contest in which he is engaged, and finally conduce to a peace such as he has ever been led to seek, and in which the honour and interest of his kingdom can be secure, and in which Europe, and the world, may hope for independence and repose."

An Address was moved in the house of Lords, by Earl Mansfield embracing, without any dissent, every object in the above speech. But a lengthy amendment was proposed by Lord Fortescue, adverting to the sudden dissolution of the former parliament, and amidst the most important business, public and private, and when no actual necessity existed for an appeal to the people. It went to shew that his Majesty had been ill advised by his ministers in adopting such a measure, and which was only calculated to excite the most dangerous animosities among his Majesty's most faithful subjects, at a period when their united efforts were more than ever necessary for the security of the empire.

This amendment produced a warm debate, in which Lord Holland bore a most distinguished share. His Lordship declared, that these daily growing infringements of the constitution, demanded a most serious and earnest attention. "I think," said his Lordship, "that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished; and though I am a friend to frequent appeal to the people, yet not by means of dissolution. Let parliaments instead of septennial, be triennial, or I would not object to their being annual; but if parliaments are to be threatened with dissolution, then they become subjected to the will of the crown, and are no longer the voice of the nation."

The Address, however, was carried in its original form, notwithstanding a very spirited and animated opposition, by several noble members, who had united in their disapprobation of the exercise of the royal prerogative on its premature close of a session, that had only continued for a few months.



In the House of Commons Lord Howick disapproved, in the same nervous and manly strain, of the ill-advised measure of dissolving a parliament, at so momentous a crisis of public affairs, and defended his own conduct in bringing forward a bill, in that house, to remove those disqualifications which had, hitherto, operated to prevent his Majesty's Catholic subjects from serving in his navy and army, without subscribing to the usual oaths of Abjuration, &c. He maintained, with much reason and eloquence, the powerful necessity of a liberal toleration in favour of the Catholics, which, he contended, they were entitled to enjoy, as one of the pledged conditions of their Union with England.

His Lordship next animadverted, with much warmth, on some other panages in the Speech, particularly strengthening the ties of continental alliance, which, while he concurred in supporting with every means in his power, he, at the same time, deprecated, as highly impolitic, the subsidizing of any nation, who had not an equal interest in the contest. He concluded, by challenging the strictest inquiry into his public conduct respecting those disasters in Egypt, which had occurred, during the period he was in office with the late administration, as Secretary of State in the Foreign Department.

At no one aera of the British parliamentary history, are we able to discover more animated or violent debates on the exercise of the Royal Perogative in dissolving a parliament so recently formed, than we have noticed in the foregoing instance, and, although the right of the king in so doing, was fully admitted, yet it had become a serious question as to the prudent and discretionary use of a power so

vested in the monarch, while all the evils resulting from it was only to be attributed to his 'counsellors, who, however responsible in themselves, might greatly obstruct and retard the business of the nation, without any adequate reparation. We should greatly exceed our limits, were we to indulge more largely on all the spirited discussions which took place in both houses, on the above occasion; yet we find it necessary to notice and record what we have done, in order to give these proceedings a place in the public transactions of Europe.

In the course of this session a bill was also introduced, called the Irish Insurrection Bill, said to have arisen in consequence of a system of secret oaths and combination entered into by the Irish, and which had originated with the French Revolution; but which, in fact, was only the continuation of a bill passed in the Irish parliament so far back as the year 1786, in consequence of the administration of secret oaths, and of disturbances then existing in Ireland.

The objects of this bill was to empower the Lord Lieutenant to proclaim any county or district to be out of the King's peace, which was reported to him, by the magistrates, to be in a state of insurrection, or of dangerous combination; and also to prevent improper persons from having arms: the mode by which this would be done, would be by obliging people to register their arms, and by preventing the forging of pikes, and which was finally passed into a law.

A motion was also made at this time, in the British parliament, for a grant of 13,000*l.* in addition to the 5,000*l.* allowed, by the former parliament, for

increasing and enlarging the establishment of Maynooth College, originally destined for the education of 200 priests of the Roman Catholic persuasion, but now intended to include 200 more. Nothing could be more useful and beneficial than such a grant, the object of which was to prevent the Catholic priests of Ireland seeking that instruction abroad, with a view to become teachers at their return; and where it was obvious they might imbibe foreign affections and a distaste for home, which, hitherto, they could not acquire in their native land. We cannot then but approve of the wise and liberal policy, of the British legislature, by which three millions and a half of people will derive a most important blessing and advantage from such a means of local instruction; while it cannot fail to promote and increase their attachment to their own country and its government.

We shall now proceed to notice the occurrences, in India, and particularly the melancholy catastrophe that happened to some of the British troops at Vellore. A spirit of dissatisfaction had, for some time, prevailed, both at this place and at Seringapatam, on account of some religious jealousies entertained by the natives, that the next attempt which the British government, in that quarter would make, would be, to convert those Seapoys, who were in their service, into Christians. The native troops were, therefore, wrought upon by their zeal in behalf of their antient institutions, to take vengeance of those who should presume to invade their religious rites and ceremonies, and which, however trivial in themselves, at length produced a most fatal insurrection. An order had been issued, in respect to the

regulation of the dress of the native troops, obliging them to wear a drummers cap; and ordering the mark of the cast, on their forehead to be taken off, and, shave their upper lip, &c. which had excited some alarm among them, lest these innovations might tend to deprive them of the designations of the respective casts, to which they have ever been most obstinately attached. These regulations, however, were still persisted in by the English, who had gone so far as to punish some of the Seapoys who had resisted them; in consequence of which, the European barracks, at Vellore, were surrounded, and at every window and door a heavy fire from musketry, and a six pounder, was poured in on the poor defenceless soldiers. At the same instant the English sentries, and the soldiers of the main-guard, and the sick in the hospital, were put to death, as was also all the British officers they could find. Two colonels were shot in haranguing those who had not joined in the mutiny, while a lieutenant of the 69th, with his little son in his arms, were both barbarously bayoneted, in the presence of his wife. This scene of carnage continued for several hours, when, at length, a sally was made from the barracks, by which the insurgents were repelled. As soon as some British reinforcements had arrived from Arcot, the Seapoys were encouraged by their native officers to make a stand, but 600 of them were very soon cut to pieces by the 19th dragoons, under command of Colonel Gillespie, and about 200 more, who were subsequently taken, were immediately shot. The loss of the English consisted of 12 officers killed, and 88 rank and file wounded. A proclamation soon after appeared, issued by the English government of Fort

St. George, assuring the native troops, in the most solemn manner, that the respect which had hitherto been shewn to their religion and customs, should be in future continued; and that no interruption would be given to any native, whether Hindoo or Mussulman, in the practice of his religious ceremonies. This transaction, however, plainly evinces the very critical foundation of the British power in India, and fully demonstrates both the folly and the danger of rigorously enforcing, even a mode of dress, repugnant to the feelings and habits of the natives.

In the midst of these things, we find that the internal police of Madras had raised itself above the civil power, and that it was headed and directed by a military man, who had become an object of presentment by the Grand Jury of that settlement, for his daring acts of outrage and injustice. But, alas! what will a government, so organized with arbitrary and oppressive powers and acting upon such principles, as the British government in India, hesitate to perform, whether in direct violation or not, of the existing code of laws, both in England and Asia. Here the freedom of the press is restrained, lest it should touch too boldly on the iniquitous conduct of individuals, holding high offices in the Honourable East India Company's service, and truth must be smoothed lest it should offend the delicate ears of a board of mercantile speculators, in Leaden hall Street. But oppression does not cease to be oppression, whether exercised by a trading or a military despotism; nor are its effects less painful in the golden climes of India, than in any of the more sterile regions of the North. As men and as christians, we, therefore,



unceasingly lament the pernicious tendency of a system, which holds one part of the world in merciless subjection to its sordid avarice and interest, while it scarcely permits the unhappy slave to inhale, without the stings of tyrannic insult, the otherwise peaceful serenity of his own atmosphere.

Among the various projects of the French Emperor, whose gigantic ambition we trace in every feature of his public conduct, we have to notice the friendship he has cultivated of late with the Persian monarchy, with a view, as is supposed, to effect a military passage through that country to India. We have learnt that a military survey has been made, by his directions, extending from Constantinople to the shores of the Indus, for the purpose of ascertaining the best geographical information of that part of Asia. An Ambassador has also been received from the Persian court, with great pomp and attention at Paris, the object of which embassy, and the respect shewn to it by Buonaparté, we presume cannot be easily misunderstood by the other powers of Europe. It has always been a favourite scheme with Napoleon, to try the success of his arms in the East; and we have little reason to doubt, that when he can find leisure from the more important and immediate contests in which he is at present engaged in Europe, that he will not long delay making the experiment. Persia, however, is a country that affords no common facilities for the subsistence or local progress of an European army, but abounds with so many obstacles on account of its mountainousness, and sterility in many places, that it will require all the genius of Buonaparté to surmount them. It must, nevertheless, be considered

that Persia furnishes some of the fleetest and most beautiful horses in the world, which may, indeed, greatly accelerate the movements of an army, intended solely for the expulsion of the British settlers from India. In undertaking an enterprize of this kind, we are induced to apprehend that the efforts of Buonaparté would be most powerfully aided and assisted, by many of the native princes.

One of the most glorious events in favour of suffering humanity, which we have the satisfaction to record, as an act of the British legislature, in the course of this year, is its total abolition of the Slave Trade. For a series of more than 20 years this object had been most anxiously sought, and warmly contended for, by Mr. Wilberforce, a member of the British House of Commons, with whom the first motion for its Abolition originated. His efforts in this generous and benevolent cause, though everywhere encouraged by the voice of genuine religion, as well as by that of the British nation at large, experienced many severe oppositions during the above period; while every obstacle was purposely, thrown in the way to retard its final accomplishment, that prejudice, interest, and false reasoning, could supply. Happily, however, virtue and truth have, in this instance, at length triumphed over her adversaries; and the sons of Africa, have no longer to dread the fatal consequences of a trade more destructive to human and domestic felicity, than the most cruel and ruthless warfare.

It has been stated to be impossible to keep up the negro population in the West Indies, without the importation of fresh slaves; in consequence of which the abolition of a trade, every way incompatible

with the principles of humanity and civilization has, nevertheless, been deprecated by the sordid feelings of the West India planters, as an impolitic measure. Such men are but too apt to calculate their benefit, at any expence of human suffering or wretchedness, on the part of others, and care not to what degraded state their fellow creatures are reduced, so long as their own wealth is increased, by their misery and bondage. We are certain, however, that by kind treatment and gentle usage, the African descendants in the West India colonies, will in no wise diminish; while cruelty and oppression cannot fail to thin their numbers and render them less serviceable. In proportion to the lenity or severity employed in the management of slaves, the births and deaths amongst them have invariably advanced; and, on adopting such regulations as shall place them in a state of more ease and comfort, by an abridgement of their excessive toil and hardships, it will soon be found that every plantation, will be able to reproduce as many hands among the existing number of its slaves, as may be necessary for its constant cultivation.

By the annihilation of this most disgraceful trade, Africa will, in future, become more exempt from those barbarous wars, which were hitherto waged only for the purpose of multiplying, on both sides, a number of miserable victims for the West India Slave Market. Philanthropy will rejoice and profit by the extinction of this abominable commerce, although it may be attended with some loss, in the estimation of a sugar, rum, or cotton harvest.

England has also manifested a disposition, on the

part of several of her wealthy nobility, and others, to improve and ameliorate the condition of the natives of Africa, by extending to them the blessings of civilization. An institution has been formed, at the head of which is the Duke of Gloucester, for the purpose of promoting these objects, and to introduce the arts of social life in a quarter of the globe, so long the seat of ignorance and barbarism. We sincerely hope this establishment may succeed, and that it may reward both in a moral, and commercial point of view, all who have so graciously and liberally patronized it.



## CHAPTER VI.

*Observations on the State of Portugal.—Its threatened Invasion by France, and Succours from England, under Earl' St. Vincent, in 1806.—Renewed Attempts by Buonaparté for its Invasion during the present Year.—Friendly Disposition of the Prince Regent towards the English.—Liberty granted by him to the British Settlers at Lisbon, to dispose of their Property, and leave the Country with their Families, before any actual Hostilities should take place with France.—Proclamation of the Prince Regent for closing the Ports of his Kingdom against the Admission of Ships of War and Merchant Vessels of Great Britain.—Migration of the Royal Family of Lisbon to the Brazils, under the Escort of Sir Sidney Smith.—Royal Decree of the Prince Regent for the future Government of Portugal—An Account of the Brazils, &c.*

IN directing our attention to the situation of Portugal, and to the recent events that have happened there, we must first indulge in a few prefatory remarks on the weakness and imbecility which has, for so long a time, prevailed in the administration of that government. It had long been foreseen that as soon as France should terminate her difference with the Germanic powers, and establish a peace in the North, that she would turn her arms against the only remaining ally of England, on the continent, and make herself mistress of the Portuguese dominions.

For many years, the court of Lisbon had betrayed a want of energy and firmness in her domestic as

well as in her foreign relations, while both her external and internal resources were considerably diminished, by the feeble and corrupt conduct of her civil and ecclesiastical rulers. The jealousy of England was also considerably excited, by the visible ascendancy France had acquired over the ministerial counsels of that kingdom, and by her effecting the removal of such statesmen from the Portuguese cabinet, as were unfriendly to the views or inimical to the interests of Buonaparté.

The Portuguese army had also so wasted away, that it was on no better footing either as to numbers or discipline, than when Count la Lippe began to attempt its reformation. A government, so miserably and wretchedly administered, it was well known, both in England and France, could oppose no very insurmountable obstacles to the progress of an invading army, from either quarter; and that the great bulk of the Portuguese nation, would have beheld with indifference, the extinction of a government, which had ceased to inspire either respect or confidence. Under these circumstances, England plainly foresaw Portugal would be invaded by France; and to avert that blow from her defenceless ally, she readily offered such succours as her threatened danger seemed to require. A fleet, and an army, was immediately provided by England, to be sent to Portugal, so far back as August, 1806; and Earl St. Vincent, who was then cruising off Brest, was appointed on that service, who arrived at Lisbon with six sail of the line, while the remaining ships of his squadron were off Ferrol, in readiness to join him on the shortest notice.

But these anticipated aids of England, were not



accepted by the Portuguese government, who did not conceive them to be necessary, at that time, for her defence. The universal sentiment of the court of Lisbon, was, that for the present they were not exposed to danger, and therefore declined accepting of the services of Britain. The English troops were accordingly disembarked at Plymouth, and Lord St. Vincent returned to his station off the Tagus.

But although France had abandoned her designs upon Portugal at that moment, and had countermanded the march of the army she had assembled at Bayonne for its invasion, it was only to afford a short respite to the reigning house of Braganza, which, soon after, became devoted to the more hostile operations of Buonaparté. The Court of Lisbon was again menaced with invasion, unless she discontinued all friendly and commercial intercourse with England. These threats, had in several former instances been superceded, or rather bought off, by heavy *doccur*, granted by Portugal to the French government. On the present occasion, however, Buonaparté would listen to no other terms, than the positive abjuration of all alliance and communication with England, and the total expulsion of all British settlers from Lisbon. The Prince Regent, in the meanwhile, remained firm in his attachment to Britain, and granted the English every facility to dispose of their property, and remove with their families to their own country.

Three weeks had scarcely elapsed, since these arrangements were made for removing and securing the effects of the English residents at Portugal, than the following Proclamation was issued by the Prince Regent :

PROCLAMATION.

“It having been my great desire to preserve within my dominions the most perfect neutrality during the present war, upon the good account of the acknowledged good effects that result from it to the subjects of this crown; but it being impossible to preserve it any longer, and reflecting at the same time how beneficial a general peace will be to humanity, I have judged it proper to accede to the cause of the Continent, by uniting myself to his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and to his Catholic Majesty, in order to contribute, as far as may be in my power, to the acceleration of a maritime peace; wherefore I am pleased to order, that the ports of this kingdom may be shut against the entry of all ships of war and merchant vessels belonging to Great Britain; and thus it is to be understood.

“Given at the Palace of Mafra, the 20th of October, 1807. By order of the Prince Regent our Sovereign.

“That all persons may have due notice, it is directed that this edict be publicly affixed.

“J. F. LUDOVIC.”

“Lisbon, October, 22, 1807”

In the meanwhile the Portuguese navy was prepared with all possible expedition. The royal treasures and furniture were packed up, and everything provided necessary to transfer the seat of government to the Brazils, where the Royal Family of Portugal had long projected their removal. A regency was also appointed for the administration of public affairs at home, which derived but little respect from the absconding monarch, who had formed it; or from the powers with which it was delegated. The English ambassador, Lord Strangford, was extremely active in assisting and consoling the Sovereign of Portugal in his migration to his dominions in South America, which, though represented as the only means left him to preserve his crown, he embraced with much reluctance. So far was he still desirous to conciliate the feelings of Buonaparté towards him, that he signed an order for detaining the few British subjects, and the small

portion of British property which remained in his dominions. On the publication of this order, the British minister demanded his passports, and presenting a final remonstrance to the court, proceeded to join the squadron under Sir Sidney Smith, who had been sent to the coast of Portugal to afford a more safe escort to the Royal Family, and to prevent the Portuguese fleet falling into the hands of the enemy. A most rigorous blockade of the Tagus was determined on; but, after a few days, the intercourse between the court of Lisbon, and the British Ambassador was resumed, and the Prince Regent directed his only hopes of safety to the British fleet, and to the final abandonment of his European dominions.

Buonaparté had, in all probability, greatly accelerated this step, by his imperial edict, that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign. This denunciation cut off all hopes of any favourable compromise with France, even at the expence of the humblest submission. The Prince Regent had, therefore, wisely resolved not to delay any longer the removal of his court to the Brazils, and most readily acceded to the proposals of Lord Strangford for quitting Portugal, and of availing himself of the friendly offers of the British government. On the morning of the 27th of November, an interview took place between the Prince Regent and the English Minister, when it was finally agreed, that the embarkation of the Royal Family of Braganza should be carried into immediate execution. On the 29th, the Portuguese fleet sailed out of the Tagus, with their Royal Freight, and about 18,000 Portuguese subjects. The fleet consisted of eight

sail of the line, and four large frigates, besides a number of Brazil ships, including in all about 36 sail. As they passed the British squadron, mutual salutes were exchanged, a circumstance the more remarkable, as but two days previous to this event, these respective squadrons were in direct and open hostility with each other.

Before the final departure of the Prince Regent he published two proclamations relative to the future government of Portugal, as follows:

#### FIRST PROCLAMATION OF THE PRINCE REGENT OF PORTUGAL.

" Having tried by all possible means to preserve the neutrality hitherto enjoyed by my faithful and beloved subjects, having exhausted my royal treasury, and made innumerable other sacrifices, even going to the extremity of shutting the ports of my dominions to the subjects of my ancient and royal ally, the King of Great Britain, thus exposing the commerce of my people to total ruin, and, consequently, suffering the greatest losses in the collection of my royal revenues of the crown, I find that the troops of the Emperor of the French and the King of Italy, to whom I had united myself in confidence, in hopes of being no more disturbed, are actually marching into the interior of my kingdom, and are even on their way to this capital; and desiring to avoid the fatal consequences of a defence, which would be far more dangerous than profitable, serving only to create an effusion of blood dreadful to humanity, and to inflame the animosity of the troops which have entered this kingdom, with the declaration and promises of not committing any, the smallest hostility; and knowing also, that they are most particularly destined against my royal person, and that my faithful subjects would be less alarmed were I absent from this kingdom, I have resolved for the benefit of my subjects, to retreat with the Queen, my royal mistress and mother, and all my royal family, to my dominions in America, there to establish myself in the city of Rio de Janerio, until a general peace.—And moreover, considering the importance of leaving the government of these kingdoms in that good order which is for their advantage, and for that of my people, (a matter which I am essentially bound to provide for,) and having duly made all the reflections presented by the occasion, I have resolved to nominate as governors and regents of these kingdoms, during my absence, my truly and beloved cousin the Marquis de Abrantes, *Francisco da Cunha de Meneses*, Lieutenant General of my Forces.

The *Prineipal Castro* (one of my council and a *Regidôr da Justícia*); *Petrode Metço Preyner*, also of my council, who will act as President of my Treasury, during the incapacity of *Luis de Vasconcellosse Sousa* (who is unable so to do at present on account of illness); *Don Francisco de Noronha*, President of the Board of Conscience and Religious Orders; and in the absence of any of them, the *Conde de Castro Marim* (Grand Huntsman,) whom I have nominated President of the Senate, with the assistance of the secretaries thereof; the *Conde de Sampayo*, and in his absence *Don Miguel Pereira Forjaz*, and one of my Attorney Generals *Joas Antonio Salter de Mendenca*, on account of the great confidence which I have in them, and of the experience which they possess in matters of Government, being certain that my people and kingdom will be governed and directed in such a manner that my conscience shall be clear, and that this regency will entirely fulfil its duty, so long as it shall please God that I should be absent from this capital, administering justice with impartiality, distributing rewards and punishments, according to deserts. And these regents will further take this as my pleasure, and fulfil my order in the form thus mentioned, and in conformity to the instructions.—Signed by me, and accompanying this decree, which they will communicate to the proper departments.

“*Palace of the Ajuda, November, 27.*”

(Signed)

“THE PRINCE.”

## SECOND PROCLAMATION OF THE PRINCE REGENT OF PORTUGAL.

“The governors whom I was pleased to nominate by my royal decree of this present date to govern these kingdoms, during my absence, will have the usual oaths administered to them by the Cardinal Patriarch, and will attend with all solicitude, vigilance, and activity, in the administration of justice, distributing the same impartially, and maintaining a rigorous observance of the laws of this kingdom.

“They will preserve to the natives all the privileges which had been granted to them by me and my royal predecessors.

“The plurality of votes will decide on the reports the respective tribunals may lay before them, regulating themselves according to the laws and customs of the kingdom.

“They will direct literary professions, offices of criminal and civil judicature and revenue, according to the forms heretofore practised by me.

“They will protect the persons and properties of my loyal subjects, selecting for military occupations those who may be deemed worthy thereof.

“They will endeavour to preserve to their utmost the tranquillity of this kingdom, to provide for the troops of the Emperor of the French good quarters, and to supply them with all they may require during their stay in this kingdom, averting every insult

that may be attempted, and punishing with rigour any that may occur; maintaining always that good harmony which ought to be displayed to the armies of nations with whom we find ourselves united on the continent.

"Should it by any occurrence happen, that any of the said governors are absent, a plurality of votes will elect a successor. I trust to your honour and virtue, that my people will not suffer inconveniences during my absence; and should it be God's will, that I may meet every one contented and satisfied, reigning among them that good order and tranquillity which should exist among subjects who have rendered themselves so worthy of my paternal care.

*"Palace of our Lady of Ajude on the 26th of Nov. 1807.*

(Signed)

"THE PRINCE."

The Portuguese possessions in South America extend from  $32^{\circ}$  south latitude, to  $1^{\circ} 30'$  north of the line, being  $33\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , and the breadth, in one part, equals that extent. Except that portion included in the  $1^{\circ} 30'$  north, called Portuguese Guiana, the whole of this vast territory, having an extent of coast of 2,200 English miles, is known by the general name of Brazil. The Portuguese settlement naturally extended along the coast; little is known of the interior, for most of the tribes being Anthropophagi even the missionaries have been unwilling to penetrate far. The fanaticism of the Portuguese has always proved a strong obstacle to the population of this fine region. Sir G. Staunton computed the whites at 200,000, and the negroes, &c. at 600,000. The whole may now probably be about 1,000,000; a population by no means adequate to the extent and fertility of the country. It is divided into three governments, of which Rio Janeiro is the chief, owing to the gold and diamond mines in its neighbourhood.

Of the state of industry in the Brazils we have no very minute account. After the discovery of



the mines, particular attention was paid to them from the notion then prevalent, that riches consisted in gold and precious stones. Though the soil is very fertile, agriculture appears to be in rather a low state. Da Cunha, bishop of Pernambuco, the latest authority of consequence, informs us, that the province of Rio Grande alone might supply a great part of Europe with wheat, hemp, and other products; and yet it appears, that wheat, rice and flour, are considerable articles of importation into Bahia, which was the most commercial city of the Brazils, till the discovery of the mines gave the superior importance to Rio Janeiro. Several districts produce cotton, indigo, coffee, chocolate, rice, pepper, and the noted Brazilian tobacco. The number of cattle in some of the provinces is prodigious, and they are often slaughtered for the value of their hides. All the provinces, according to the account of Staunton, are advancing fast to opulence and importance. They manufactured of late several of the most necessary articles for their own consumption, and their produce was so considerable, that the balance of trade began to be in their favour.

The imports into the Brazils are chiefly linen, woollens, silk hats, wheat, flour, rice, port wine, furniture, oil, cheese, &c. in return for gold, sugar, tobacco, Brazil wood, skins, ipecacuanah, and other drugs. - The trade in timber is a favourite object with Da Cunha, who prefers the negatree, the ipe, the guramirim, and sneupiora, to the best and strongest timber in Europe.—Woods for ornamental cabinet-work too, or for the use of dyers, may be procured here in great perfection and variety. Several of the aromatic plants are found here in a

truly indigenous state—such as the ginger, turmeric, different species of pepper, American coffee, capsicum or guinea pepper, and the wild cinamon. A variety of medicinal plants also grow here in great abundance, and such esculent plants and fruits as are common to the tropical regions of America. Mr. Lindley's narrative, published in 1805, present some notices that may be of use in the deficiency of materials on this subject. He says that the bitter, or Seville orange, is a native of America. There are great unwrought mines of nitre near Bahia. No vessels, he observes, ought to approach the coast on the south of Bahia within half a degree, as all our charts are very imperfect in that part. The Rio Grande and the adjoining Patavia supply excellent timber for the royal docks—one kind resembling the teak of India; while Brazil wood, log wood, mahogany, rose wood, and others also abound.

The principal commercial city at present is Rio Janeiro. The harbour is capacious and excellent; the surrounding country is fertile, and abounds in cattle and sheep. The shops are full of Manchester goods and English prints, and there are manufactures of sugar, rum, and cochineal. It may be of some importance to state, that though the province of Rio Grande is the richest of the Brazils, the river is little navigable on account of the shoals. The adjoining province of San Catarine, therefore, serves as a mart for the productions of Rio Grande, by its excellent harbour, which is the best in the country after that of Rio Janeiro.

With respect to the European settlers, they are described as gay and fond of pleasure. They eat without knives or forks, and roll the meat

and vegetables into balls: the ladies without ceremony search for vermin in each others hair, and their usual dress is a single petticoat over a chemise. It is acknowledged by the Portuguese themselves, "that Brazil, considering the number of years it has been colonized, the space which it occupies, and the inhabitants it contains, exhibits the greatest deficiency of genius and curiosity of any quarter of the globe."—There is a remarkable want of subordination, especially among the white servants, so as not to be exceeded by the Jacobin epoch of France. They admired the French generals and conquests, and, according to Mr. Lindly's account, entertained an antipathy against the maritime power of England. The youth, in particular, were imbued with republican notions, and ridiculed their own subjection to Portugal—a report confirmed by Staunton. Mr. Lindley also states, that they wish much to get rid of their dependence on Great Britain, to which they bear considerable enmity.

The most curious circumstance relating to the state of manners in Brazil, is the conduct of a set of miscreants, called *Paulists*—a society of free-booters in the Southern part of the country. United by equal want of religion and morals, the first inhabitants of the town of St. Paul formed a republic, like that of robbers in a cavern. Malefactors of all nations and colours formed about a hundred families, which gradually rose to a thousand. The Paulists declared themselves a free people. All strangers who did not bring certificates of having been regular thieves were refused admittance into the colony. The first trial of a citizen was to make an excursion and bring in two Indians as prisoners. Virtuous acti-

ons were carefully punished with death. Supplied with fire arms from unknown quarters, they carried devastation into the Spanish possessions. Where they suspected that force would not avail, they assumed the gown of the Jesuits, and preached with the most holy fervour to the Indians, on the advantages of religion, and on the heinous offences of murder and robbery, particularly warning them against those devils the Paulists. Having gained the confidence of the Indians, they inveigled them into places where they could easily seize them as prisoners. At last, however, the state was corrupted by the introduction of a few virtues, and the city was yielded to the Portuguese monarchy.

Da Cunha contradicts the theory of Montesquieu, on the effects of climate, and asserts, that the Indigenes of the Brazils are capable of great mental and corporeal exertion, of which he gives some instances. This writer states a circumstance which sets in a strong light the narrow policy of the Portuguese government. In the vicinity of the mines, salt is necessary, not only for man but for cattle, and yet this article is farmed to an individual, and a vast commerce of fish, which swarm on the coast of Brazil is thus interdicted. The Portuguese army in Brazil amounted only to 8,000 regulars, and 20,000 militia. It is generally believed that the conquest might have been effected by 5,000 European troops. The country, upon the whole, seems to have improved very slowly, notwithstanding its natural advantageous. But when the government shall have adopted a more liberal policy, and industry is left unfettered, it may soon become a rich and powerful empire.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Corrupt State of the Spanish Government.—Mysterious Conspiracy to dethrone the Spanish Monarch.—Imprisonment of the Prince of Asturias as one of Conspirators.—Conduct of the Prince of Peace as an Accuser of Ferdinand.—Proposals of Buonaparté to the latter to marry a French Princess.—Curious Treaty entered into by his Catholic Majesty and the French Emperor at Fontainebleau, for the Conquest and Partition of Portugal.—Means to be pursued and what Army has been deemed necessary to accomplish this Object.—Buonaparté's Letter to the Prince of Asturias, &c.*

IF Portugal has exhibited to us the sad and melancholy consequences, of a weak and declining monarchy, without either the means or spirit to defend itself from the overwhelming power of France, the government of Spain has discovered a no less want of energy on its part, to repel the intrepid and warlike operations of the French Emperor. The Prince of Peace, who owes his titles and his elevation to Buonaparté, had long engrossed the sole direction of the public affairs of that kingdom; and though equally hated and despised both by the nobles and the common people, he still preserved, as a useful agent of Napoleon, his power and influence over the councils of the state. Every plan he proposed was most eagerly adopted; every aid he demanded was readily complied with. Ten thousand Spanish troops had, on one occasion, been marched into Hanover, and the applications for money, which he was constantly making, in order to relieve the

exigencies of the French armies, was generously and instantly supplied out of the Spanish coffers. Spain was no longer an independant or a brave nation; her former dignity was sunk into a mean obsequiousness to the will of Buonaparté, whose dictates she had not the courage to refuse, and whose hostility she dreaded.

In this state of humiliation and dependance, an event occurred at Madrid, which excited an extraordinary degree of attention. A proclamation was published at this place, stating, that through the divine interposition, a most dangerous conspiracy had been discovered against the Sovereign himself, by his own son, who had projected the dethronement of his father, and who was surprised in the royal palace with the cypher of his Correspondence and Instructions. The Governor and Council of Castile were immediately convoked to investigate the matter, who ordered the arrest of several suspected persons, and directed the Prince should be confined as a prisoner, at his own residence.

This order for his arrest, according to the deposition of the Prince, and four secretaries of the departments of War and Justice, was entirely written in the hand writing of Don Manuel Godoy, the Prince of Peace. While Ferdinand was in the act of making a judicial exculpation of himself, to the Marquis De Caballero, Secretary of the General Department of Justice, the Prince of Peace entered the apartments of the Escorial where he was, and presented to him a copy of the letter, by which he was made to ask pardon of his Royal Father.

This account has led many to suspect that the Prince of Peace was the accuser of Ferdinand, and



that the paper covered with cyphers, found on the person of the Prince of Asturias, was artfully invented by the former, as a means to effect the removal of the only obstacle to his views, which the Prince of Peace had hitherto experienced in the active vigilance of Ferdinand; but perceiving that the accusation and imprisonment of Ferdinand had roused the interest and indignation of the Spanish people, he thought it more prudent to forego, the violent measures he had employed for his destruction.

A few days after these circumstances had transpired, a royal decree was addressed by his Majesty to the Council, informing them that the arm of his paternal vengeance was unnerved; that a want of due consideration on the part of his son had so strongly pleaded for his forgiveness, that the feelings of a father could not refuse it; that the Prince had revealed the authors of the horrible plan, which he was about to perpetrate, and that his repentance and remorse had urged him to make this acknowledgment. His Letters to his Royal Parents were also communicated to the Council. In these the Prince confesses his want of duty and obedience to his Father and Sovereign, without whose consent, he ought to have done nothing, but surprized as he had been, in an unguarded moment, he had denounced the guilty, and implored that a repentant son might be permitted to kiss his father's feet. To the Queen he expressed similar sorrow, and regret, for the great fault he had committed, and requested her pardon for his denial of the truth, and her mediation to obtain his father's forgiveness. In consequence of these Letters, and of the Queen's

intercession, the Prince was again restored to the favour of his Royal Parents. A solemn festival was appointed on the escape of his Majesty from the alarming catastrophe with which he had been threatened.

We must frankly acknowledge we are unable to discover or conjecture the causes which have led to the above conspiracy, although, by some, it has been ascribed to the intrigues of France, as a scheme to sacrifice the Prince of Asturias; we cannot, however, reconcile such a scheme with the act of Napoleon, in appointing that Prince to the command of the troops destined to conquer Portugal. The whole affair is involved in a mystery which subsequent events will, perhaps, more fully develop. That it has been a preparatory measure to revolutionize that kingdom we can now have no doubt; at the same time it will not justify any belief that the conspirators may not have had a very different object in view to what has since followed, after an interval of a few months.

It is highly probable that when Buonaparté first formed his ambitious project of uniting his own family with the royal families of many of the European kingdoms, that Spain, from its situation and imbecility of its government, presented itself as an object of easy acquisition. No sooner had he settled a peace with Russia, than he directed his attention towards the subjugation of this power. He soon found a pretext for calling out a number of her best troops, and sending them on a distant service, that they might not interfere with his plans.

The next step he pursued was the proposal of a

marriage with the Prince of Asturias and a relation of his own, whom he had created a French princess. Ferdinand, with some reluctance, agreed to this, in the hopes that his compliance, would strengthen the friendship and alliance then subsisting between the French and Spanish monarchy. In an official paper, published at Madrid, he there declares it to be his own voluntary wish, with a view to promote the prosperity of the Spanish empire, to unite himself, in marriage, with a princess of the blood royal of France; notwithstanding we are assured by Don Cevallos, a nobleman of high rank, and possessing the confidence of the Spanish court, that the Prince's acquiescence in a union of this sort, arose entirely from the persuasions of the French Ambassador at Madrid, and the dread of incurring, by his refusal, Buonaparté's displeasure. Whether the marriage of Ferdinand with a French princess, would have preserved to him the throne of his ancestors, or the crown of Spain, we are unable to decide; yet if we may judge from what has since happened, we are inclined to believe the removal of the Bourbon family, had been finally determined on in the mind of Buonaparté, before any such overture of marriage was made.

Nearly about the same time that the pretended conspiracy was in agitation at Madrid; a secret treaty, of a very singular nature, was signed at Fontainebleau, by Don Eugenio Isquirdo, as plenipotentiary of his Catholic Majesty, and Marshal Duroc, on behalf of France. By this treaty the division of Portugal was agreed upon. Part of it was to be given to the King of Etruria, with the title of King of Northern Lusania, part was to be bestowed on

the Prince of Peace, with the additional title of Prince of Algarves, the remaining provinces were to continue undisposed of till a general peace, as a conditional exchange for the cession of Giberalter, Trinidad, &c. in behalf of their rightful sovereign, the House of Braganza, which, by the 8th article of that treaty, they were in hopes to be able to effect.

The same treaty agrees to acknowledge his Catholic Majesty Emperor of the two Americas, when every thing is ready for his Majesty's assuming that title, which may either be at the general peace; or at furthest within three years therefrom. The sovereignty of Portugal was to be subject to the King of Spain, whom it was to acknowledge as its protector, and, in no case, to make peace or war without his consent.

Nothing could be more flattering to the Spanish monarch than such schemes, and nothing further from the sincerity and good faith of Napoleon, than the accomplishing, in good earnest, what he had so planned and proposed. No suspicions, however, were entertained by the King of Spain, but that these projects, and the objects of this convention, would be fully realized. To effect such purpose, it was deemed necessary to draw from Spain a large number of her best troops, and that their places should be supplied by the military veterans of Buonaparté. By this means the French soldiers would occupy all their strongest fortresses, and spread themselves over the country. The treaty had specified the conditions necessary for its execution. By this it was agreed, that a French army, consisting of 25,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, should enter Spain and march directly for Lisbon, and that they should

be joined by 8,000 Spanish infantry and 3,000 cavalry, with 30 peices of artillery; that 15,000 Spanish troops should also occupy other parts of Portugal, and that 40,000 French should be in readiness at Bayonne, by the 20th of November, 1807, to proceed through Spain into Portugal, in case the English should send any reinforcements thither. The whole of this force was to be subject to the commands of a French general.

Thus the French had secured, through the credulity of the Spanish monarch, a footing for their own powerful army in the very heart of his kingdom, while its frontiers was to be garrisoned by the assemblage of 40,000 troops in the interest of Buonaparté.

Without regarding the conduct of the King of Spain, as an act of treachery to the Prince Regent of Portugal, it will be extremely difficult to account for his folly and blindness, in permitting his own territories to be invested by such a numerous and well disciplined army, however fair its ostensible object, or the promised benefits resulting from it.

But notwithstanding these appearances of friendship and cordiality held forth in the above treaty, it was soon followed by some insinuations of displeasure, and threatened hostility on the part of the French Emperor. Buonaparté could not long conceal his real views, as to the measures he intended to pursue with respect to Spain. He had long conceived a distrust of the sincerity of the motives, which had actuated Ferdinand in the professions of his friendship and attachment to his person, and had cherished some suspicions that the Prince of Peace had not executed his plans with that fidelity he had

a right to expect. The latter began to perceive the symptom of his approaching loss of favour and power with Buonaparté; and, in order to be restored to his confidence, sought to conciliate the friendly offices of the Grand Duke of Berg to intercede in his behalf. This nobleman, however, gave him but little encouragement of preserving the support of the French Emperor, who, in order to conceal his plans, had taken a journey to Italy. Before his departure, Charles and Ferdinand had each written to him on the subject of the proposed marriage of the latter with a French princess; in answer to which Buonaparté declared, he had never received any communication from the Prince of Asturias relative to the marriage, notwithstanding he had previously acknowledged the receipt of a letter from Ferdinand on that business. This circumstance excited some uneasiness among the Royal Family of Spain, whose attentions were now more manifest towards their own personal welfare, than the threatened liberty and independence of their kingdom. While the French Emperor was, therefore, ostensibly occupied on a tour to Italy, and, in the concerns of that part of Europe, and when it seemed he was only solicitous to improve the happiness of the Spanish monarch, he was marching a powerful portion of his disposable force into the very heart of that kingdom. As a reason for this measure, and to lull the fears of the Spanish nation, although at the same time it could not fail to alarm and distract the mind of the reigning Sovereign of that country; the French Monarch had publicly avowed, that his intentions was to favor the cause of the Prince of Asturias, to which



he well knew the feeble army of Charles could oppose no resistance. Indeed so weak and timid was the conduct of the Sovereign of Spain on this occasion, that he gave orders, for these very troops, who were to assist in deposing him, to be received and treated, even better than those of his own nation.

Thus did Buonaparté succeed in his stratagem to occupy the Spanish territories with an immense army, to effect the overthrow of that kingdom, while he rendered its legal Sovereign a material agent in aiding and assisting in his own downfall. Charles at first entertained no other fears of Buonaparté than that he would dethrone him and set up his son Ferdinand; but the latter was still less capable of resisting the schemes of Buonaparté, as he was already exposed to the treacherous and undermining influence which had been secretly exercised by the Prince of Peace, for his destruction. The cabinet of Madrid was, at this time, the seat of much intrigue, and there is little room to doubt that the various and discordant elements of which it was composed, greatly accelerated the accomplishment of its ruin. The character of Charles, and of his dissolute Queen, as well as the debauched manners of the Prince of Peace, who had an unbounded sway over the latter, all conspired to favour the views of the French Emperor in his attack on that kingdom.

The following is the copy of a letter addressed by Buonaparté to the Prince of Asturias; but whether previous or subsequent to the discovery of the conspiracy, has never yet been ascertained.

“ BELOVED PRINCE,

“ Receive from the hand of the Count Haro, the sword which the interest of my empire, the honour of the Spaniards, and the opinion of your excellent accomplishments require to be made

over to the chief of the troops destined to revenge our arms for the repeated grievances with which our enemies have thought proper to outrage them. *One day you will govern the people you now fly to conquer*, and France will have in you a friend to distinguish among its neighbours, to concur with us, suppressing in their origin, and chastising all those that may be disposed to promote discord. I have therefore thought proper to command General Junot to make known to the army, that your sacred person, placed at its head, represents mine, and that of your father, my dear ally. I am proud in promising myself, that by these means that friendship which I so much value will be increased.

“ NAPOLEON,  
Emperor of the French, &c.”

About this time a provisional organization of the government of the Seven Isles, ceded by Russia to France, took place. By which arrangement these islands now form a constituent part of the French Empire, and the inhabitants acknowledge Buonaparté as their sovereign. These provisions are in substance as follows. The liberty of worship is guaranteed, but the Greek religion is to be predominant. The courts of justice, the laws, and the senate, are to continue as heretofore, until further orders. The senate must have all their decrees and deliberations confirmed by the Governor General, in the name of his Majesty the Emperor and King, without which approbation, they are to remain without effect. The secretaries of state are to consist of three, the Financial, that of the Interior, and for the united departments of Justice and General Police. The secretaryship of Foreign Affairs is suppressed.

There shall be attached to the Governor General a privy council, which he shall assemble whenever he may judge fit. It is to be composed of the three Secretaries of State, and of his excellency the President of the Senate. General Cardeno com-

mandant of the troops, is charged with whatever relates to the military. A statement of all the magazines, and of every object whatever, moveable or immoveable, which have been ceded by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, shall be delivered to the Governor General, together with a statement of all the sums due to the government of the Seven Islands, by his excellency the minister Plenipotentiary Moncenigo, in the name of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia. The troops of the Seven Islands, in the pay of the existing government, are to be retained upon their former footing, and the Albanese, who were in the Russian service, but now discharged, shall provisionally pass into that of France. None of the troops, can receive any orders but from the Governor or from a French commandant, and must take the oath of allegiance to his Majesty the Emperor and King, and shall swear to remain united to his army against all the enemies of the French Empire. The staff of the Albanese shall reside provisionally at Corfu, from amongst them a company shall be raised in order to be incorporated in the government guard, and two other companies, from each Albanese corps, shall, likewise, be joined to every French regiment to act as light infantry in the mountains.

The present ordinance shall be notified to the members of the Senate, and there shall be a copy respectfully addressed by the Governor, to his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy his Sovereign.

(Signed) THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF,  
Governor General of Corfu and its dependences.

CÉSAR BERTHIER.

Buonaparté, as an encourager of literature, had this year presented to the Imperial Library, at Paris, 248 scarce and valuable M.SS. most of which are in the Oreintal languages, together with 80 typographic monuments of the 15th century; among which is a copy of Bonner's Fables, the only one extant. In the collection of M.SS. is a copy of the Edda, a sacred book of the Scandinavian Mythology, written on parchment, in the Scandinavian language.



## CHAPTER VIII.

*Restrictions on Commerce in Europe.—British Orders of Council, against the Trade of Neutrals.—Resolutions moved on that Subject, in the British House of Peers, by Lord Erskine.—Reduced State of the West India Planter.—Treaty with America not ratified.—The Adoption of a rigid Embargo by the latter Government, on all its Shipping.—Distressing Effects produced by this Measure, both in England and America.—Buonaparté's Decree in consequence of the Orders of Council, &c.*

THE constant efforts of Napoleon to exclude England from all continental trade, and thereby to embarrass her resources, has long been manifest. Europe has witnessed, and felt the bad effects of the various restrictions which the French Emperor has so frequently decreed, to lessen the wealth arising from the commercial and manufacturing energies of the British Nation, and to excite, by this means, a discontent and disaffection on the part of the people towards its government. France, although at no time so great a commercial country as England, has long shewn a disposition to trade in those commodities, whether of foreign growth or domestic fabric, by which England has so greatly enriched herself. Both governments, however, have pursued a system of interdictions and privations, that have, hitherto, operated to ruin multitudes of their subjects, without yielding any advantage in *curtailing* the *miseries* of war, or hastening the consummation of a *peace*; while the interest of the neutral has been

as unsparingly *sacrificed* by the mutual and severe proscriptions of these two powers. In France, every evil that can result from such a system has already been experienced; sugar, and other articles, of colonial produce, have exceeded their former price by at least 300 *per cent.* even the usual palliatives of disease were scarcely procureable. Bark and rhubarb, from the small quantities in which they were held, rendered their prices too exorbitant for the relief of the poor and necessitous; nor was this calamity only confined to France, many other countries on the continent equally suffered the miseries of the above privations. Britain, in the meanwhile, was not exempt from her share of the evil growing out of such restrictions; hitherto her trade had been greatly assisted and benefited through the medium of the American flag, till the blindness of her own *policy* at length induced her to forego even that advantage. British manufacture and colonial British produce, found a market in defiance of many of the formidable and ostensible oppositions of Buonaparté. On the 11th of November, three Orders of Council were issued; in the name of his Britannic Majesty, by the first of which, the ports of every country is declared in a state of blockade, from which Great Britain is excluded. All trade in the produce or the manufactures of these countries is deemed illegal, and the vessels employed in such trade are liable to seizure, unless such neutral vessel shall be going direct to, or from, a British or neutral port, to some free port in the enemies colonies, or the British colonies, laden with such articles as it may be lawful to import into such free port.



The second order provides, " that no exportation from the ports of the United Kingdom, of the produce or growth of France, Spain, &c. that may have been legally imported, shall be permitted to be exported, but upon condition that the parties, so exporting, shall enter into proper security that they will export, within a limited period, one-third of the tonnage of such goods in British manufactures or colonial produce, the said produce of France to be subject to such duties upon exportation, as may hereafter be directed.

The third order directs, " that no purchase of British prize ships, by neutral subjects, from the enemy, shall, after the present notification, and during the present war, be considered as valid in a British court of admiralty, but that any vessel so purchased shall be liable to confiscation.

The documents granted by French agents, in neutral ports, known by the name of Certificates of Origin (certificates that the cargoes are not of British produce or manufacture) are no longer to be allowed; and all neutral vessels in possession of them, are to be seized wherever met with. The object of these restrictions, though extremely injurious in their operative effect to the trade of the United States, was only intended as a measure of retaliation on the blockading decrees of Buonaparté, and to burden the colonial trade of France with heavier charges than the same articles would cost, if imported into the continent direct from Great Britain. The effect that these Orders produced, both in England and America, were such as might have been easily foreseen by men, who are acquainted with the reciprocity of advantage, that these two nations enjoy in their trade with each other. If America,

has derived much benefit from the extension of her commerce with Europe and the indulgence hitherto shewn it by the belligerent powers, it ought to be remembered, that England, who was her largest creditor, has equally profited by that indulgence. The restraint, therefore, imposed by these Orders of Council, are alike unwise, unjust, and impolitic.

The laws of nations, according to all authorities, clearly demands that respect should, at all times, be observed to neutrals, which had committed no act of outrage or offence against any belligerent. An attack on their rights cannot, then, be justified on a principle of retaliation; such conduct, on the part of the British Government is, therefore, without any defence. If the decrees of France against commerce, were such as to render some measures of resistance necessary, why not pursue them in a way more consistant with the glory, honour, and interest of Britain? Why sacrifice an unoffending neutral to the fury of an unprofitable resentment? Has England gained her object by these restrictions? has she so humbled Buonaparté, or reduced France, by imitating his blockading system, as to induce him to sue for a peace, or relax his exertion in the prosecution of his schemes to effect her downfall? If Great Britain, with her powerful navy, has so long been unable to extort from France any revocation of its edicts unfavourable to commerce, how could she vainly expect that America could achieve this renunciation solely by virtue of her negotiations. This surely was no ground on which the Orders of Council could be maintained, and yet they seem to have no other foundation in principle.

It still remains to be shewn in what decrees of

Buonaparté the American government has acquiesced, that has *proved* of such serious injury to the *real* interest of Britain. Does not her trade involve in it a very large portion of British capital? every shipment made by the United States, to France, or any other part of the continent, was freighted with an eventual benefit or remittance to England. In proportion to the increase of her trade, either foreign or domestic; the orders for British goods were increased as the manufacturers and traders of Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Sheffield, and of London itself, can fully explain. A warm discussion took place on the foregoing subject in the British parliament, where the following resolutions were moved by Lord Erskine, on the illegal and unconstitutional proceedings which had given rise to these debates,

1st. That the power of making laws to bind the people of this realm, is exclusively vested in his Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of the realm, in parliament assembled: and that every attempt to make, alter, suspend, or repeal such laws, by order of his Majesty in his privy council, or in any other manner, than by his Majesty in parliament, is *unconstitutional and illegal*.

2d. That the advising his Majesty to issue any order in council, for dispensing with, or suspending any of the laws of the realm, is *a high violation of the fundamental laws and constitution thereof*.

That the same cannot in any case be justified, but by some unforeseen and urgent necessity endangering the public safety.

And that in every such case it is the duty of his Majesty's ministers to advise his Majesty, after issuing such order, forthwith to assemble his parliament, in order both that the necessity of such proceeding may be inquired of and determined; and that due provision may be made for the public safety, by the authority of his Majesty in parliament.

3d. That the law of nations is a part of the law of the land, and that neutral nations, not interposing in the war between his Majesty and his enemies, *have a legal right to such freedom of commerce and navigation, as is secured to them by the law of nations*.

4th. That the late orders of his Majesty in council, *are contrary to the law of nations*, inasmuch as they purport to interrupt

the commerce of friendly nations, carrying on their accustomed trade in innocent articles, between their own country and the ports of his Majesty's enemies, not actually blockaded; and even between their own country and those of his Majesty's allies. And also, inasmuch as they purport to compel such trade in future, to come in the first instance, under pain of confiscation, to the ports of his Majesty's dominions, or of his allies, and there to submit to such regulations, restrictions, and duties, as shall be imposed upon them.

5th. That by the law of nations, all independent governments have an undoubted right, both in war and peace, to regulate in their own territories, and according to their own convenience, except where specially restrained by treaty, the admission or exclusion of the ships or merchandize of other states. That by the municipal law of this and other European countries, it hath been usual to require, that vessels trading to or from the ports thereof, shall carry such certificates or other documents, shewing in what country the vessel hath been built, fitted, or owned, by what sailors she is navigated, and in what country the articles composing the cargo have been grown, produced, or manufactured, as may be judged necessary to entitle them to entry.

And, that the ships of friendly nations carrying such papers in time of war, do not thereby violate any rule of amity with other countries, or legally incur any penalty whatever, unless such papers should be found to be fraudulent.

6th. That so much of his Majesty's order in council, of the 11th of November last, as directs, that "any vessels carrying any certificates or documents, declaring, that the articles of the cargo are not of the produce or manufacture of his Majesty's dominions, or to that effect, or carrying any other document referring to such certificate or document, shall, together with the goods laden therein, belonging to the persons by whom, or on whose behalf, any such document was put on board, be adjudged lawful prize to the captor;" is a gross and flagrant violation of the law of nations, and of the statutes made for the freedom of navigation and commerce, and of the rights and liberties of the people of this realm; inasmuch as, it purports to expose the property both of foreign merchants, and even of his Majesty's subjects; in the ports of this realm, as well as on the high seas, to unjust detention and forfeiture in cases where no offence whatever hath been committed against any known principle, or rule of the law of nations, or against any law, statute, or usage of the realm.

7th. That the free access to the ports of this realm, and the liberty of trading to and from the same has been secured to merchant strangers, not being of a hostile nation, by Magna Charta and other ancient statutes, in which it is expressly provided, "that no manner of ship, which is fraught towards England or elsewhere, be compelled to come to any port of England, nor there to abide, against the will of the masters and mariners of the same, or of the merchants whose the goods be."

And that the said statutes were intended, not only to protect the innocent commerce of friendly nations, but also to secure to the people of this realm the benefit of a free and open market for the sale of the produce and manufactures thereof; and for the carrying on of such trade, as might conduce to the profit and advantage of the realm.

8th. That the above mentioned orders of his Majesty in council *are in open breach and violation of the said statutes*, inasmuch as they direct that ships fraught to other places than this kingdom, and even to ports belonging to his Majesty's allies, may be compelled to come to the ports of this realm, or of its dependencies, and there to abide under such restrictions or regulations as his Majesty may be advised to impose upon them; and also inasmuch as they direct that the goods laden in such vessels shall not be cleared out again from such ports, without having been, in some case, previously entered and landed; nor, in other cases, without having obtained from his Majesty's officers licences to depart, which licences such officers are not, by any known law of this realm, authorised to grant.

Similar resolutions were proposed by Lord Lauderdale, on the second reading of the Orders in Council Bill, which were likewise negatived.

The distress of the West Indian planters, occasioned by the exclusion of their produce from the usual markets on the continent, was another subject of parliamentary consideration. By a report of one of their committees, it was stated, that the situation of the planters interest had been gradually declining from the year 1799; that sugar had at length attained such a state of depreciation, that instead of paying the planter 18 *per cent*; for his capital the necessary expences incurred on it, were not reimbursed; while the duty demanded by government increased, as the price became lessened to the consumer. To remedy these evils the committee suggested a decrease of duty and an advance of bounty, and to preclude all intercourse between the ports of Cuba, Porto Rico, Martinique, and Guadeloupe, through the medium of the United States. In the conclusion it was stated, that unless some speedy



and effectual relief were adopted, the ruin of a great number of planters, and others connected with them, would inevitably take place. Yet what benefit or advantage has been the Orders of Council to them ; Have they found a more rapid sale in any of the European markets, for their sugar, cotton or coffee? It is stated, that in a single year, 45,000 hogsheads of sugar were imported through American bottoms, into the port of Amsterdam alone. Has the Orders of Council, while they have annihilated this trade, transfered any of its advantages to the British colonies, by enforcing a substitution of their produce in lieu of the produce hitherto furnished by the French islands ; considerations of this nature, ought to have operated on the minds of the framers of those orders, which, after the most favourable construction that can be put on them, seem as destitute of true political foresight and wisdom, as they have since proved ineffectual in promoting the object for which they were intended. We shall now proceed to notice the effects and countervailing measures that they gave rise to in the United States, and the rejoinder they called forth on the part of the French Emperor, in the decree which he afterwards issued in consequence of them.

The first step taken by the President of the United States, as soon as the Orders of Council were made known in that country, was his recommendation to congress that they should (in order to avert the increasing danger that threatened the vessels and merchandize of the United States, from the belligerents of Eurpoe,) put an immediate stop to the departure of their vessels from any of the



ports of the United States, and to prepare for any hostile event that might result from such an inhibition. The House of Representatives in consequence, laid an embargo on all shipping within the harbours of the United States, cleared or not cleared out, bound to any foreign port or place, and strictly prohibited the furnishing of any clearance, even from one part to another within the United States, "unless the master, owner, consignee, or factor of such vessel, shall first give bond, in a sum of double of the value of vessel and cargo, that the said goods wares or merchandize shall be relanded in some part of the United States."

This measure, though much the wisest and safest, the American government could adopt, was reprobated by some as a sort of negative war declared against Great Britain; nor was it generally approved of, in some of the maritime ports of the United States. That America had a right to pursue a policy most congenial to her interest and welfare, can only be questioned by those who are ever ready to trample on the freedom and privileges of an independent nation. The Embargo was solely a defensive measure, and had in it nothing hostile to the belligerents of Europe. England might complain of it, and France might condemn it, as tending to diminish their supplies and weaken their resources; but the United States was compelled to look to her own interest, and to escape, if she could, the dangers with which both these powers, by their blockading decrees, had threatened her commerce. If France as has since been *proved*, could so well dispense with the American trade, as to feel no distressing inconvenience from its suspension for so long a time,

America could also dispense with her commercial intercourse with England; since the one greatly promoted and assisted the other. We know that the Emperor Napoleon has but little regard for the sufferings his subjects might sustain by such privations, while Great Britain has a more distinct interest in preventing the loss or interruption of a commerce, in which so large a portion of her capital is identified. By encouraging those means which have conduced to the prosperity of the United States, England has derived a proportionate benefit. Her manufacturers and merchants have profited by the adventurous spirit of the Americans, and have, ultimately, enjoyed; and participated in the advantages of *their* shipments to a continental market, at a time when they were not permitted any direct or ostensible communication with them.

The famous Berlin Decree of Buonaparté, and the no less famous British Orders of Council, of the 11th of November, have mutually operated to harrass and distress the commerce of the United States, while it is yet doubtful whether England or France have gained any advantage by those restrictions. They both seem to have sprung from the same source of inconsiderate oppression, as far as their operative effects extending, to injure the peaceful and industrious pursuits of neutrals. The Berlin Decree founded its principle on the blockading system then pursued by England, and was only a counterpart of that system which Great Britain had herself previously established. It commenced its preamble by stating, that England had ceased to observe the laws of nations, that she considers every individual as an enemy who belongs to a hostile

state, and makes prisoners not only of the crews of ships of war, but also the crews of merchant vessels, and persons employed in mercantile affairs. That she seizes and condemns the property of individuals, not at war with her, and extends her blockade to places not fortified, and to whole coasts and whole kindgoms. Under these circumstances it further states, that it is a right conferred by nature to oppose to an enemy the weapons he employs against you, and to fight him in the same manner in which he attacks; in consequence of which, Buonaparté had determined, by virtue of that decree, to retort those acts, as far as his powers would enable him, which Great Britain had engrafted into her maritime code. These cogent and imperious arguments were afterwards combated by the Orders of Council; which were resorted to as a justifiable measure of retaliation for the very decree that her own maritime aggressions had given rise to; a species retaliation that, without opposing any difficulties to France, was well calculated to ruin her trade and friendship with America.

It has been said the United States should not have tamely submitted to Buonaparté's decrees, which so deeply struck at her commerce and independence; and that she should have resisted, what England has not been able yet to resist, with all her maritime prowess. Can she effect a revocation of any of those edicts of Napoleon, by which her own trade has been so forcibly shut out from the continent; yet America has been upbraided for its passive acquiescence in, and submission to those tyrannic decrees, with no other means in her power to prevent them, than the feeble negociations of an accredited minister at Paris.

The following letter, addressed to the chambers of Commerce in France, will plainly shew the impotency of the British Orders of Council, as a means of harassing and distressing that kingdom, and that its inhabitants were fully prepared to brave all those useless interdictions by which England has so unsuccessfully sought to annoy them.

CIRCULAR LETTER,

ADDRESSED BY THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR TO THE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE.

“ You are not unacquainted, Gentlemen, with the late acts of the British Government, that last stage of the oppression of the commerce of the world: you know that it has resolved to destroy the feeble remains of the independence of the seas. It now thinks proper, that, henceforth, no ships shall navigate the seas without touching at its ports, without a tribute to its pretended sovereignty; and without receiving from it an ignominious licence.

“ Thus the ocean is, henceforward, only the field of slavery: the usurpation of the most sacred of the rights of nations is consummated, and this tyrannic yoke is to press upon them until the day of vengeance, or, until brought to a due sense of moderation, the English Government will itself, calm its rage, and break that sceptre to which the nations of the continent will never consent to submit.

“ I am calling our common attention to the important circumstance which must powerfully induce us to awaken your patriotism and your wisdom. One would have imagined, that every obstruction and restraint that clogged the course of the commerce on the Continent, had been exhausted: still, however, they are going to be aggravated by the measures lately adopted by England; but they will find our minds made up to struggle against, and to overcome this new mode of oppression.

“ We must not shut our eyes to the consequences. Importation and exportation, already so much restricted, will soon be much more so. Every thing connected with maritime commerce; every thing that depends upon it, will now be liable to more difficulties, to more uncertainty. There are, however, two channels that still remain open.

“ The power of attacking every ship that renounces the independence of its national flag, by a shameful submission to the British sovereignty, and by navigating under a British licence, will open a wide field to the hopes of our commanders. Such a resource will not prove ineffectual, and French commerce will not devote itself uselessly to that sort of warfare which never lets courage, dexterity, and decision, go unrewarded.

“ We have, moreover, to hope, that neutral ships will elude

the vigilance of the English cruizers; the immense extent of the coasts of the empire will favour and protect their enterprise.

“ These resources ought not to be undervalued, nor counted for nothing. France will submit to a temporary situation, which can only change with time and with new exertions; but her enemy shall not deprive her of the main basis of her prosperity; her internal communication, her relations with the Continent where she no longer sees any but friends or allies; her soil will not be less fertile, her industry will not maintain itself the less, though deprived of some materials which it is not impossible to replace.

“ To this last proposition I am rather anxious, Gentlemen, to direct your attention. You have advice to give, and examples to hold out to commerce. You must already foresee the effect of the privation of certain materials, more especially of cotton, and of ingredients for dying cotton, of which a quantity has been stored up in France: that which we shall derive from the Levant, and that which, at a more distant period, we shall reap from our indigenous culture, not unsuccessfully essayed, will suffice to support, in a great measure, our manufactures: but in the expectation that some of them may experience privations, we must have recourse, as far as possible, to hemp and flax, in order to provide occupation for those manufacturers who would no longer be employed with articles of cotton. It were desirable that we could circumscribe our consumption within the products of the materials the growth of our soil, and restrain the unhappy effects of habits and tastes contracted for manufactures, that would render us dependant upon foreign countries.

“ The materials for dying may become scarce,—but many of them may be replaced by the productions of our own soil. We will dispense with the rest by a slight sacrifice of some colours, which may please from their apparent greater beauty, without adding any thing to the intrinsic goodness of the article. Besides, no small reliance is to be placed on the genius of our manufacturers—it will triumph over those difficulties.

“ The channels which, in spite of these usurpations, will remain open to importation, may not suffice for the consumption of sugar and coffee; these objects of a secondary utility may become scarce—but the great mass of the nation will not suffer from this temporary privation: habits of indulgence too widely indulged will be counteracted and restrained by the rise in the price.

“ And besides, is it to be supposed, that the Great Nation will allow itself to be intimidated by the privation of some futile enjoyments? Her armies have endured, without a murmur, the most pinching wants, that great example will not have been held out in vain; and when we have in view to re-conquer the independence of the seas; when we have in view to rescue and redeem commerce from the ruinous acts of piracy that are juridically exercised against it; when we have in view the vindication of the national honour, and the breaking down of those *furcæ caudine* which England is attempting to erect upon our coasts,



the French people will support with the dignity and the courage that belong to their great character, the temporary sacrifices that are imposed upon their taste, their habits, and their industry. The commerce of Europe will soon, no doubt, be rescued from oppression. The interests of nations; the honour of sovereigns; the magnanimous resolutions of the most powerful of the Allies of France; the power and wish of the Hero who rules over us; the justice of a cause to which Heaven will grant its protection; every motive concurs to decide the contest; nor can its issue remain uncertain. Accept, Gentlemen, the assurance of my sincere esteem."

(Signed)

"CRETET."

The pressure of distress, occasioned by the Orders of Council, was more severely felt in England than it possibly could be, either in France or in America. If the ships of the latter were laid up to rot, rather than expose them to insult and capture, it is every way manifest that the manufacturing towns in England suffered greatly from the suspended intercourse between the two countries. The merchants of London and of Liverpool, met to petition Parliament to rescind those Orders, as they could find no market for their goods, and had large sums due to them from the United States, which they were fearful might be eventually sequestered; at all events, to have these remittances so long detained, could not fail to be attended with serious consequences to their credit, while it was uncertain what would be the final issue of such an interruption.

America had refused to ratify a treaty which had been provisionally concluded by her minister in England, and had put herself into a formidable posture of defence, in case she could not obtain, through the more pacific medium of negociation and remonstrance, such relaxations of the equally insolent and unjust decrees of Great Britain and France towards her, as was necessary to assure a safe passport to her future trade and intercourse with Europe. Eng-



land, for a time, seemed unwilling to grant her any concessions that might be construed into a yielding measure in favour of France, while Buonaparté as obstinately persisted in refusing her any accommodation that might add to the commercial preponderance and influence of Great Britain.

We shall here give the rejoinder of the French Emperor to the British Orders of Council of the 11th of November, and which, as far as it affects the interest of the United States, still remains unrepealed.

#### IMPERIAL DECREE.

REJOINDER TO HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S ORDER IN COUNCIL, OF THE 11TH NOV. 1807.

“ Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Rhenish Confederation:

“ Observing the measures adopted by the British Government, on the 11th of November last, by which vessels belonging to neutral, friendly, or even powers the allies of England, are made liable, not only to be searched by English cruizers, but to be compulsorily detained in England, and to have a tax laid on them of so much *per cent.* on the cargo, to be regulated by the British legislature:

“ Observing that by these acts the British Government *denationalizes* ships of every nation in Europe; that it is not competent for any government to detract from its own independence and rights, all the sovereigns of Europe having in trust the sovereignties and independence of the flag; that if by an unpardonable weakness, and which in the eyes of posterity would be an indelible stain, such a tyranny was allowed to be established into principles and consecrated by usage, the English would avail themselves of it to assert it as a right, as they have availed themselves of the tolerance of Governments to establish the infamous principle, that the flag of a nation does not cover goods, and to give to their right of blockade and arbitrary extension, and which infringes on the sovereignty of every state; we have decreed, and do DECREE as follows:”

ART. I. Every ship, to whatever nation it may belong, that shall have submitted to be searched by an English ship, or to a voyage to England, or that shall have paid any tax whatsoever to the English Government, is thereby, and for that alone, declared to be *denationalized*, to have forfeited the protection of its King, and to have become English property.

II. Whether the ships thus *denationalized* by the arbitrary measures of the English Government, enter into our ports, or

those of our allies, or whether they fall into the hands of our ships of war, or of our privateers, they are declared to be good and lawful prizes.

III. The British Islands are declared to be in a state of blockade, both by land and by sea. Every ship, of whatever nation, or whatsoever the nature of its cargo may be, that sails from the ports of England, or those of the English colonies, and of the countries occupied by English troops, and proceeding to England, or to the English colonies, or to countries occupied by English troops, is good and lawful prize, as contrary to the present Decree; and may be captured by our ships of war or our privateers, and adjudged to the captor.

IV. These measures, which are resorted to only in just retaliation of the barbarous system adopted by England, which assimilates its legislation to that of Algiers, shall cease to have any effect with respect to all nations who shall have the firmness to compel the English Government to respect their flag. They shall continue to be rigorously in force as long as that Government does not turn to the principle of the Law of Nations, which regulates the relations of civilized states in a state of war. The provisions of the present decree shall be abrogated and null; in fact, as soon as the English abide again by the principles of the Law of Nations, which are also the principles of justice and of honour.

All our Ministers are charged with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws.

NAPOLÉON.

By order of the Emperor. The Secretary of State,

H. B. MARET.

At our Royal Palace, at Milan, December 17, 1807.

France has, however, declared in her diplomatic communications with America, that her commercial decrees were never intended to be applied to the United States, and has ordered the restoration of those American vessels, that had been seized and detained by virtue of them, in several French and Spanish ports.

The Embargo was followed up by another measure of equal wisdom and policy on the part of the United States, we mean the Non Intercourse Act which took place on the suspension of the Embargo, and could not fail deeply to affect the commercial

interest of Britain. By this act, had it continued longer in force, it would have clearly been preceived that America could exist independant of her trade with England, and that her citizens could subsist by means of their more local and internal occupations and industry. By not importing articles of English manufacture, they would soon extend those of their present domestic fabric, and which, in a little while, might supercede those European and foreign supplies that now constitute so large a portion of their consumption.



## CHAPTER IX.

*Affairs of Portugal resumed.—Manifesto of the Prince Regent on his Arrival at the Brazils.—The French take Possession of Lisbon.—Buonaparté's Decree relative to Portugal.—Proclamation of General Junot.—Capture of Maderia by the English.—Succession to the Crown of Italy, &c.*

IN resuming our narrative of the events which took place in Portugal, we feel ourselves obliged to take a further retrospective view of some of the circumstances that first gave rise to the existing hostilities between that kingdom and France, as appears by a Manifesto published by the Prince Regent, immediately after his arrival at the Brazils. The motives which induced the Court of Portugal to issue this justification and exposition of its conduct, are detailed with much precision and candour. It declares, that after having kept a silence suitable to the different circumstances in which it was placed, that it owes to its own dignity a full and complete developement of the principles by which it has been actuated, that impartial Europe, and posterity, may judge of the purity of the conduct it had adopted, as well to avoid the fruitless effusion of the blood of its people; as because it could not persuade itself that solemn treaties, of which it had fulfilled the burthensome conditions in favour of France, should become a despicable infants toy in the eyes of a government whose incommensurable ambition has no limits, and which has but too much opened the eyes of the persons most prejudiced in

its favour. It states, that it is not in invective, or in vain and useless menaces, that the court of Portugal will raise its voice from the midst of the new empire, which it is about to create, but that in the language of authentic facts, it will make known to Europe, and its subjects, all that it has suffered; in order to excite the attention of those who may still desire not to be the victims of so unbounded an ambition, and who may feel how much the future fate of Portugal, and the restitution of its states, *invaded without a declaration of war*, and in the midst of a profound peace, ought to be of consequence to Europe: if Europe ever hopes to see revive the security and independance of the powers which formerly composed a species of republic that balanced itself, and maintained an equilibrium in all its different parts. An appeal to providence is the consequence of this exposition, and a religious Prince feels all the importance of it; since guilt cannot always remain unpunished, and usurpation and violence enfeeble and consume themselves, by the continual efforts they are obliged to employ.

The court of Portugal saw with regret the French revolution, and deplored the fate of the virtuous King, with whom it was connected by the closest ties of blood; and, although it took no part in the war which the conduct of the madmen who then reigned, (by the confession even of the present government) forced all governments to declare against them, it had always endeavoured to preserve the most perfect neutrality. Even during the unsettled state of France, the court of Portugal received a minister from that government whom it had treated with respect, but who was not acknowledged, as the

principles of the law of nations, nor of public law, would allow of his being accredited under such extraordinary changes, by any legitimate or independant government. It then proceeds to notice the detention of the Portuguese merchant vessels after the peace of 1801, while France demanded and received indemnities for those which had been detained on the part of Portugal, to compensate the losses sustained by her own merchants. It likewise complains of the perfidy of the Spanish court, which had been accessory, in forcing Portugal to receive unjust and humiliating conditions of peace, in the treaties of Badajoz and Madrid, and which had even availed herself of the forces of France to wrest from Portugal a small extent of territory of the province of Alentjo, on the side of Olivenza; thus leaving to posterity an eternal monument of the wretched recompence she bestowed on an ally, who, notwithstanding the antient rivalry of the two nations, would not fail to fulfil the conditions of a treaty of alliance which existed between them.

In reverting to the treaties of peace signed at Badajoz and Madrid, it further complains of the bad faith evinced by the enemies of Portugal; and that England had; in her treaty of peace with France, which was signed almost at the same time, manifested a spirit unfavourable to the true interests of her antient ally. The court of Portugal, however, hastened to fulfil all the burthensome conditions imposed upon her by her treaty with France, while the latter still continued to exact from her the most unjust sacrifices. Still desirous of avoiding war, Portugal, by her renewed engagements with France, in 1804, and after the recommencement



of hostilities between England and that power again submitted to purchase her neutrality with large sums of money. Yet, during the same war, the court of Portugal was called upon, by the French government, in violation of all treaties, and of its neutrality, to make war on England; although no cause of complaint then existed to justify such a measure. In the meanwhile a French squadron, on board of which was the brother of Buonaparté, anchored in the Bay of All Saints, where they received every respect, and were supplied with all sorts of refreshments. But in order to conceal their route (with a promise of indemnity to the proprietors, which was never performed) they burnt several Portuguese vessels. England never made any remonstrances against the succours afforded to the above squadron who were then within the acknowledged limits of the law of nations, although France has since complained that Portugal gave assistance to the English for the conquest of Monte Vido and Buones Ayres; while it is well known that the British expedition sailed from the Cape of Good Hope and derived no succours whatever, either from Portugal, or her South American settlements, contraband of war; and that what they received at Rio Janeiro, or the other ports of Brazil, could not be refused to any nation, as they were only such supplies as had been plentifully afforded to the French squadron. Portugal, therefore, challenges the court of France to produce any fact in contradiction to this assertion.

France received from Portugal, from 1804 to 1807, all the colonial commodities, and first materials, for her manufactures. The alliance between Eng-

land and Portugal was, therefore, useful to France; while the course pursued by the French government has deprived us of those advantages which a commerce, so useful to both countries, had procured her.

Yet Portugal was not ignorant of the means intended to be pursued by France in 1806; when the Minister of Foreign Affairs notified to Lord Yarmouth, that if England did not make a maritime peace, Portugal should be occupied by 30,000 Frenchmen. But it was not by a force of 30,000 men, that the invasion of Portugal could be effected. Buonaparté knew the pledged security of her neutrality, and thought he could take it by surprize; and this was sufficient to justify his proceedings. England, alarmed by the above declaration, offered succours, but France had found means to pacify the fears of Portugal which had rendered their acceptance unnecessary, more especially as she was then preparing to crush the Prussian court. The war which was afterwards continued with Russia, still retarded the views of the Emperor of the French, with regard to Portugal; and it was only by concluding the peace of Tilsit, that the court of the Thuilleries, in a dictatorial tone, such as might have become Charlemagne, addressing the princes, whose sovereign lord he was, caused the strange demand to be made to the court of Portugal, though the medium of the French *charge-de-affairs*, and by the Spanish Ambassador.—1st To shut the ports of Portugal against England. 2d. To detain all Englishmen who resided in Portugal; and, 3d, To confiscate all English property; or, in case of refusal, to expose itself to immediate war with France and Spain.

Three weeks were only allowed for an answer to be returned to these propositions, which, if not complied with, the French and Spanish Ambassadors were ordered to leave Lisbon. The French Emperor did not, however, wait even this short period, to determine on what steps he should take, but immediately ordered the detention of all the Portuguese merchant ships which were then in the ports of France, by which act, hostilities had actually commenced, without any formal declaration of war. The court of Portugal, however, still relied on its own good faith, and on the friendship of his Britannic Majesty, which it was still desirous to preserve; it therefore, in order to spare the blood of its subjects, and to reconcile its interest and duty to both England and France, acceded to the shutting of her ports against the former, but refused its compliance with the other two articles, as contrary to the principles of public law and justice; convinced that the British government would make every allowance for the difficulties of her situation, and the superior powers she had to contend with, and that she would not ascribe to the court of Portugal any voluntary hostility, on her part, in its forced interdictions of her commerce. At the same time the Court of Portugal, aware of its danger, began to adopt measures for its retreat to that part of the Portuguese dominions which is not exposed to any invasion. For this purpose it ordered all such ships of war, as were fit to keep the sea, to be fitted out; and also directed all the English to quit its dominions, and sell their property, with an intention of shutting its ports against them.

The court of the Thuilleries was, however, unwilling

to agree to any conciliatory measure, and demanded an immediate acquiescence in its former propositions, and a dereliction of the project to retreat to America. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to save Portugal from the invasion of the French, had agreed to the demands and pretensions of that power, while he had firmly resolved, in the event of the French troops entering Portugal, to remove the seat of government to the Brazils, as the most important and best defended part of his dominions. France, as it was then supposed, having received all she demanded, could have nothing further to ask. Yet no sooner were those concessions made her by Portugal, than General Junot, without any previous declaration, or without the consent of the Prince Regent, entered that kingdom, with the vanguard of his army, assuring the inhabitants that he was only marching through it, to secure his Royal Highness against the invasion of the English, and that he only entered it as the general of a friendly and allied power.

The French General received, on his journey, convincing proofs of the good faith of the Portuguese government, notwithstanding the uneasiness which everywhere prevailed with regard to France; and when his Royal Highness the Prince of Portugal was surprised in such an extraordinary manner, although he might have rallied round him a body of his own troops, which were stationed at a small distance from him, caused the English fleet to enter the port of Lisbon, and thus destroyed the whole of General Junot's army. But the latter relied on the feelings of a virtuous Prince, who would never have exposed his people to the dreadful calamities, even of successful resistance for a time.

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in order to prevent the criminal plan of the French Government from being carried into execution, which had nothing less in view than to secure his royal person, and the whole family of Braganza, and to possess itself of the spoils of the crown, and of the dominions of Portugal, finally pursued his magnanimous resolution to retire, with his august family, to the Brazils, which would, at once, disconcert the efforts of the French government, and likewise demonstrate to Europe the necessity of rousing from the lethargic stupor into which it is sunk, and rigorously to oppose an ambition that aims at the domination of Europe, and of all the world.

Since his Royal Highness's safe arrival in Brazil, he has learned with horror, not only the usurpation of Portugal, and the pillage and plunder committed in that country, but also the shameful proceedings of the Emperor of the French, who, as the dictator of Europe, dares to represent, as a crime, the removal of his seat of government to Brazil, and to censure the conduct of such of his faithful subjects who have followed him. He has witnessed, with horror, the attempt that has been made, in an official paper, issued by the Emperor of France, to proscribe his legitimate inheritance of the crown of Portugal, and to introduce a new government into that kingdom without his consent; as well as the means which has been resorted to, enforce a contribution the most heavy and vexatious, from a country that had opposed no resistance to the entrance of the French army, and which, by this very act, afforded no just grounds for such hostile proceedings towards its inhabitants. Posterity, and



impartial Europe, must see in such transactions, the forerunner of the like barbarism and misery which attended the downfall of the Roman Empire, and which cannot be avoided unless exertions are made to restore the equipoise of Europe by an unanimous effort, without that mischievous rivalry, which has been the true cause of elevating this monstrous power, which now threatens to swallow up every other.

After this correct and true statement made by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal to Europe, and to his subjects, of the events that have taken place between the Portuguese and French governments, he thinks it a duty due to his rank, and to the dignity of his crown, to make the following declaration:

His Royal Highness breaks of all communication with France, recalls all the members of his embassy, if they should yet remain, and authorizes all his subjects to wage war, both by sea and land, against the subjects of the Emperor of the French. His Royal Highness declares null and void all the treaties he has been compelled to conclude with the Emperor of the French, particularly those of Badajoz and Madrid, and that of its neutrality in 1804, because France has never respected them. His Royal Highness will not lay down his arms, but in concert with his Britannic Majesty, his old and faithful ally, and will never agree to a cession of Portugal, which forms the most antient part of the inheritance and of the rights of his august family.

When the Emperor of the French shall have satisfied in every point, the just claims of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, and re-



linguished the dictatorial tone in which he lords it over oppressed Europe; when he shall have restored to the crown of Portugal, all he has invaded in the midst of peace, and without the least provocation, his Royal Highness will avail himself of the earliest opportunity to renew the connection which has alway subsisted between the two countries, and which ought to exist between nations, not divided by those principles of inordinate ambition, which, according to the experience of ages, have always proved destructive to the welfare and tranquility, of all nations by which they were adopted.

Such is the language of the manifesto of the Prince Regent of Portugal, in which he evidently takes credit to himself for more firmness and decision of character than he has in reality displayed; yet it faithfully unfolds many of the stratagems of France to get possession of his kingdom, and may, in some degree, justify his abandonment of his European dominions.

This document also furnishes us with the strongest proofs of the attachment of the court of Portugal to the interests of England, as well as of the enmity of Buonaparté towards the latter. It further appears, by a report of the French minister for Foreign Affairs, relative to Portugal, as well as by the proclamation of Junot, that the court of Portugal might have retained its former seat of government in Europe, had it fully acceded to the demands of Buonaparté, in respect to the exclusion of English ships, the confiscation of English property, and the arrest of the subjects of that nation. Yet we are doubtful whether even its compliance with such disgraceful terms would have long preserved its

existence, or influence, even as a tributary power to Buonaparté who would have then sought some other pretext or cause for its final extinction.

The principal charges urged by the French government, against the court of Portugal, were for allowing its ships to be visited by those of the English, and thereby permitting its independance to be violated by its own consent; that it had also suffered the arrest of a French consul in the port of Faro, and had refused, for three months, to repair that outrage; and, notwithstanding its protestations of neutrality, it was endeavouring to avail itself of a connection with England, even when she had promised to join the cause of the continent, and to declare war against the former; and, although it neither protected the French nor their commerce, the persons and trade of their enemies have continued free and favoured. Portugal is also further accused of making use of artifices to gain succours from England, with a view to delay the fulfilment of her engagements with France till, at length, she is said to have decided her own fate by her perfidy, and by reducing the French and Spanish legations to quit Lisbon. France, therefore, to prevent Lisbon from falling into the hands of the English, was obliged to declare war with Portugal.

In another report by the same minister, the Prince Regent of Portugal is further accused of having concerted his flight with the English, while a courier carried to Italy, where Buonaparté then was, new protestations of his attachment to the common cause of the continent. It observes, however, that at length Portugal is delivered from the

yoke of the English, and is now occupied by French troops. The following decree soon after was made public :

ART. I. There shall be levied in our kingdom of Portugal, a war contribution of 100 millions of franks, (about four millions sterling,) to be paid by all kinds of property and domains belonging to individuals.

II. The commander of our army shall apportion the contribution on the respective provinces, according to the means of each.

III. All the property belonging to the Queen of Portugal and to the Prince Regent, and to all the Princes who have pensions, shall be sequestrated. All the property of the Grandees of the kingdom who followed the Prince Regent in his flight, shall also be sequestrated, unless that they return to Portugal before the 15th of January next.

In consequence of this decree, General Junot issued an important order of great length, but of which the following is the substance:—As a part of the war contribution of 40,000,000 crusades, the merchants, &c. are to pay 6,000,000. The English manufactures are to be ransomed by the proprietors, on paying one-third of the value. The gold and plate of the Lisbon churches are to be carried to the mint. The prelates are to contribute two-thirds of the produce of their lands up to 16,000 crusades, beyond that sum three-fourths; to be, however, exempt from tythes. All who possess church livings up to certain values, are to pay two-thirds, or three-fourths of the annual produce. The knights commanders of the military orders, and of the order of Malta, to pay two thirds of their annual produce. The holders of grants of the crown to pay double the annual contribution. The owners of houses in Lisbon to pay one-half of the rent. The chiefs of the cities and towns to be allowed to render the church plate in part of payment of such contributions, it being considered only necessary to retain in the churches such a quantity of plate as should be deemed sufficient for use in the ordinary performances of divine worship.

As soon as the French General took possession of Lisbon, he began to enforce the most rigorous measures with respect to the English property, which still remained there, and threatened to punish most severely any of the natives who should endeavour to conceal it. A decree was issued, declaring all moveable and landed property, belonging to any subject of Great Britain in Portugal, and all goods

of British manufacture, should be confiscated. Whatever Portuguese should not make a true and explicit declaration of the effects or money which he might have in his possession, was to forfeit ten times the sum, should it afterwards be discovered, and corporal punishment was also to be inflicted in case of concealment. Yet, notwithstanding the severity of this measure, it was not carried into general execution; a means was found to evade its strictness, and several merchants, who had British property, were allowed to dispose of it themselves, and to account for the result of the sales.

The temper and disposition of the Portuguese, whose aversion to the French could not be well concealed, soon rendered another decree necessary. The frequent assassinations that took place, called forth a proclamation to prohibit the use of fire arms, which were kept under a pretext of hunting and shooting, but which were frequently devoted to the most sanguinary and revengeful purposes. This prohibition extended principally to the districts reserved by the crown, and in which every person found armed with a gun or pistol, unless he had previously obtained leave of the Commandant of Lisbon, was to be considered and treated as a highway assassin.

In order to conciliate the affections of the natives of Portugal towards the French government, every means was used by the agents of that empire. One of the first steps taken by General Junot, on the assumption of his military functions at Lisbon, was to exhibit the moderate views of Buonaparté in the following

## PROCLAMATION.

INHABITANTS OF THE KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL.

“Your interests have engaged the attention of his Majesty the Emperor and King, our master, all irresolution ought to disappear; the destinies of Portugal are brightening, and her future happiness is secured, because Napoleon the Great has taken her under his omnipotent protection.—The Prince of Brazil, by leaving Portugal, renounced all his rights and sovereignty over this kingdom. The house of Braganza has ceased to reign in Portugal; the Emperor Napoleon wills, that this fine country shall be governed entirely in his name, by the general in chief of his army. The task which this mark of the benevolence and confidence of my master imposes on me, is of difficult execution, but I hope to perform it in a proper manner, supported as I am by the labor of the most intelligent men of this kingdom, and the kind disposition of its inhabitants.

“I have formed a council of government to enlighten me with regard to the good which I must do, and perennial administrations shall be appointed, in order to point out to me the means of improving the administration, and establishing order and economy in the management of the public wealth. I shall order roads to be made, and canals formed, to facilitate communication, and to cause agriculture and national industry to flourish—two branches indispensably required for the prosperity of a country, which it will easily restore to a people, enlightened, persevering, and intrepid.—The Portuguese troops, commanded by the most deserving of their chiefs, will soon form but one family with the soldiers of Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland; and no rivalry will exist between them, but that of valor and discipline.

“The public revenue, well managed, will secure to every person employed in its administration, the reward of his labours; and public instruction, that only source of the civilization of nations, shall be diffused through the different provinces, and Algrave and Upper Beira will also produce their Camoens. The religion of your forefathers, the same which we all profess, shall be protected by the same hand which restored it to the vast French empire, free from the superstition which disgraced it; justice will be equally administered, freed from all delays and arbitrary proceedings which degraded it.

“Public tranquillity shall no more be disturbed by daring highway robbers, the offspring of idleness; and should any incorrigible miscreants be found, an active police shall rid the country of them. No hideous beggars shall henceforth offend the eyes of the industrious inhabitants of this superb capital, nor of the interior of the country; workhouses shall be erected for that purpose, where the maimed poor shall find an asylum, and the idle be employed in labour necessary for his own maintenance and preservation.

“Inhabitants of the kingdom of Portugal, be peaceful and



without fear; repel the instigations of those who wish to lead you to rebellion, and who do not care how much blood is shed provided it be the blood of the continent; confide implicitly in our exertions for your welfare; you will reap all its fruits. Should it be necessary, in the first moment, to make some sacrifices, they will be solely required to place the government in a proper condition to meliorate your fate. They are indispensably necessary for the sustenance of a large army, required for the execution of the vast projects of the Great Napoleon. His watchful eyes are fixed on you, and your future happiness is certain. He will love you as much as his French subjects; endeavour to deserve his favours by a respectful conduct and submission to his will.

“ Given in the palace, head-quarters,  
in Lisbon, the 1st of Feb. 1808.

“ JUNOT.”

About this period, and soon after the departure of the Prince Regent from Portugal, the British government fitted out an expedition against the island of Maderia, which was placed under the joint command of Sir Samuel Hood, and Major General Beresford. The Portuguese Governor readily accepted the terms offered him by these commanders, and the British troops were put in possession of the island. By the terms of capitulation, it is agreed, to be restored to the Prince Regent, or his heirs, whenever the free ingress and egress to the ports of Portugal should be re-established as heretofore, and when the sovereignty of Portugal shall be emancipated from the controul or influence of France. It likewise provides for the safety and respect of all public property, reserving the use of all such property, and the revenues of the island, to be applied to the maintenance of its religious, civil, and military establishments.

The English, in thus occupying Maderia, may, perhaps, secure to themselves some advantage, arising as well from its trade as from its favourable situation in affording supplies to their merchant ships



engaged in long Eastern voyages; while it is possible it may, under its present *guardianship*, revert back to its former lawful sovereign, an event, however, which we are inclined to think not likely very soon to take place.

Buonaparté, who is ever anxious to provide for the welfare of his own family, and to establish on the most solid basis the reigning power of all who are connected with him, either by the ties of blood or by adoption, has, by the following decree, settled the succession to the crown of Italy.

*Milan, Dec. 19.*

“We, Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the empire, Emperor of the French, and of Italy, decree as follows:—

ART. 1. We adopt for our Son, Prince Eugene Beauharnois, Arch-chancellor of state of our empire of France, and Viceroy of our kingdom of Italy.

2. The crown of Italy shall be after us, and in default of our children, and male legitimate descendants, hereditary in the person of Prince Eugene, and his direct legitimate descendants from male to male by order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of women and their descendants.

3. In default of our sons and male descendants of Prince Eugene, the crown of Italy shall devolve to the son and nearest relative of such of the princes of our blood, who shall then reign in France.

4. Prince Eugene, our son, shall enjoy all the honours attached to our adoption.

5. The right which our adoption gives him shall never, in any case, authorise him or his descendants to urge any pretension to the crown of France, the succession to which is invariably fixed.

NAPOLÉON.

A decree of the 20th confers upon Prince Eugene Napoleon, the title of Prince of Venice.

Another decree confers upon “our well beloved grand-daughter, Princess Josephine, as a mark of our satisfaction to our good city of Bologna, the title of Princess of Bologna.”

Another decree declares the Chancellor Melzi, Duke of Lodi.

After the above decrees had been read, the Emperor made the following speech:—

“Gentlemen, Possidenti, Cotti, and Commercianti, I see you with pleasure about my throne.

“Returned after three years absence, I am pleased at remarking the progress which my people have made—but how many things remain to be done to efface the faults of our forefathers, and to render you worthy of the destiny I am preparing for you.

“The intestine divisions of our ancestors, their miserable egotism to particular cities, paved the way for the loss of all our rights. The country was disinherited of its rank and its dignity; that country which in more distant ages had carried so far the honour of its arms and the eclat of its virtue. I will make my glory consist in regaining that eclat and those virtues.

“Citizens of Italy—I have done much for you: I will do much more—but on your side, united in heart as you are in interest with my people of France, consider them as elder brothers.—Always behold the source of our prosperity, the guarantee of our institutions, and that of our independence, in the union of the Italian crown with my imperial crown.”



## CHAPTER X.

*Commencement of the History of the Public Events and Transactions of the Year 1808.—Overtures made to England, by France, through the Medium of the Austrian Minister, Prince Starhemberg, to open Negotiations for a General Peace, at Paris.—Answer Returned to them by the British Government.—The Austrian Ambassador demands and receives his Passports.—Austrian Declaration.—Decree of the Spanish Monarch against England.—Disturbances at Aranjuez.—Arrest of the Prince of Peace—Abdication of Charles and Accession of Ferdinand.—Protest against the Abdication of Charles.—Conduct of the Duke of Berg towards Ferdinand; his Proclamation to the French Army before their Entrance into Madrid—Embassy of General Savary to Ferdinand.—The latter leaves his Capital to meet the French Emperor, &c.*

IN commencing a regular series of the public and important events and transactions of 1808, some of which we have been obliged occasionally to anticipate, from their intimate and close connection with those of the preceeding year, and which we have already noticed in our former sheets, we are led, in the first instance, to call the attention of our readers to the overtures made by the Austrian Minister, Prince Starhemberg, to the British government, to send immediately plenipotentiaries to Paris, for the purpose of treating for the establishment of peace, between all the powers at present at war with England.

This invitation was founded on the pacific dispositions of his Britannic Majesty, which had been previously expressed in an official communication

to the Austrian government, in November last; and which was further intended to furnish a proof of the good faith and sincere intention of France, to put an end to the calamities of war, as it was the desire of the court of the Thuilleries that his Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, should become the intermediary of a result so desirable. The court of London were, therefore, strongly urged by the Austrian Minister, to consider the importance of the proposal, which had been made it, and he expressed a hope that it would not delay to furnish a demonstration of the sincerity of that desire it had so often expressed, to restore repose to the rest of Europe, by nameing negociators (to whom he was authorized to grant passports), which the court of St. James's should think proper to intrust with the important interests to be discussed on this occasion. The cabinet of London, however, discovered no inclination to embrace this offer. In its answer to these pacific proposals, it complained that Prince Starhemberg had omitted to explain from whom he received his commission, whether from his Imperial master, or the government of France; and expressed much concern that so little reference should appear to have been had, in framing the proposals thus offered for his Britannic Majesty's consideration to the correspondence which had already taken place between the courts of London and Vienna, upon the subject of a negotiation for peace. It regarded with surprize that after so long an interval had been suffered to elapse since the acceptance of his Britannic Majesty, in April last, of the mediation of the Emperor of Austria, that the same offer should now be repeated, without any notification of the acceptance of those conditions by which,

at that time, were declared to be the indispensable preliminaries to the opening of a negociation on the part of his Britannic Majesty; and who also observes with equal surprize, that his overture only includes the powers combined with France in the war against Great Britain; but does not extend to the allies of Great Britain in the war with France.

On the other hand it observes, if the proposals submitted by the Austrian Minister, are not the acts of his own court, the British government cannot admit the exercise of his diplomatic functions in behalf of another power, without some specific and authenticated document to justify the court to which he addresses himself, in founding a public and important measure upon such a communication. And that while France is in possession of a solemn and authentic pledge of the pacific disposition of his Britannic Majesty, it follows that a pledge equally solemn and authentic of the reciprocal disposition of France is reasonably to be expected before his Britannic Majesty can be called upon to make any further advance, who is so far from considering the proposals to send negociators to Paris, as a proof of any such reciprocal disposition, his Britannic Majesty has construed them as implying, on the part of France, an unjustifiable doubt of the sincerity of his professions. The answer further adds: "If it could ever have been matter of doubt, whether the previous settlement of a basis of negociation were necessary to the hope of its successful termination, the experience of the last negociation with France would have placed that question beyond all controversy; and that, however willing his Britannic Majesty is to treat with France, he will

only treat on a footing of perfect equality; as soon, therefore, as the basis of negotiation shall have been satisfactorily ascertained, and an *unexceptionable* place of negotiation agreed upon, his Britannic Majesty will be prepared to name plenipotentiaries to meet those of the other powers engaged in the war, as he will not again consent to send his plenipotentiaries to a hostile capital. This is the frank and unequivocal sentiments of his Britannic Majesty, to the Minister of the Emperor of Austria, who, as he cannot enter into any explanations in the name of the French government, or afford any assurances by which that government could be bound, his Britannic Majesty cannot give any authority to the Prince de Starhemberg to speak, in his name, to the government of France."

A few days after receiving the above answer, the Austrian Ambassador demanded, and received his passports; although his Britannic Majesty was pleased to express his deep regret that the circumstances of the times and the orders of his court, should have imposed on that minister the necessity of demanding them.

The Emperor of Austria, in the meanwhile felt himself compelled to conform his actions to the will and wishes of the French Emperor, and with the mandates of the French government; surrounded, as he was, by the military forces of that power, it would have been madness in him to have hazarded a war with Buonaparté, by asserting his independence, or resisting the commands of the latter.

The internal state of Austria was no ways favorable to hostile designs; her government had suffered much from the opposite interests by which it was directed



and influenced; her armies had been beaten, in consequence of the defects in her military system, by the armies of France; and the losses she had already sustained had greatly enfeebled her resources; while her peasantry groaned under such a bondage, as made them indolent and indifferent to the true interests of her government. In this state, however, she issued the following

#### DECLARATION:

“ During the war which was concluded by the peace of Tilsit, his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty had continually endeavoured to impress the belligerent powers with the motives which ought to induce them to concur in endeavouring to procure a general peace. The court of Vienna, from that time, declared its sentiments to the cabinet of St. James’s; and the imperial envoy at London, Prince Starhemberg, received formal and pressing instructions; but as the British ministry, in answer to these written communications, declared, ‘ that its answer must depend on its allies, the salutary propositions of Austria could not but be considered as disregarded;’ and soon after the treaty of Tilsit was concluded, by which the interests of the continent were regulated without the participation of Great Britain. His Imperial, Royal and Apostolic Majesty continued, nevertheless, convinced of the utility, and even of the necessity, of a general pacification; and this conviction afforded him new motives for renewing his pressing representations to the court of London. In July, soon after the signing of the peace, the Prince of Starhemberg again received orders to induce the British ministry to enter into a negotiation with France, in order that the continental peace might be connected with, and confirmed by, a maritime peace. ‘ But these propositions were not more successful than the former had been, and the answer of England was evasive.’ His Majesty, however, thought it right to return to a subject of the most material influence on the general system of Europe, as well as on the prosperity of the Austrian provinces in particular. Prince Starhemberg was, therefore, for the third time, directed, in September 1807, to make some further overtures, connected with the former measures of the court of Vienna.—But before his Majesty’s ambassador reported the result of his communications, the court of London declared its sentiments with regard to a maritime peace, in so positive a manner—‘ (refusing at the same time the mediation of Russia, making an attack upon Copenhagen, and seizing the Danish fleet, without assigning any satisfactory cause of these violent measures; nay, endeavouring to justify those violent proceedings; their infringements of the unquestionable rights of neutral powers, by official declarations which evidently clashed

with the principles of other great powers)—that it was impossible not to perceive, in the course pursued by the British minister, a determination to remove the possibility of peace to a greater distance, and not to listen to whatever had any tendency to restore tranquillity to Europe!

“ The impression which this conduct, destructive of all the hopes which his Majesty had fondly conceived, made on him, was as deep as it was painful. Without waiting for the reports of Prince Starhemberg, orders, still more urgent and more positive, were sent him, than he had before received. These instructions, bearing date the 30th of October, contained, first, a recapitulation of all former transactions, and directed him to represent to the cabinet of St. James’s, in the strongest colours, the unavoidable consequences of its conduct, and to insist, in the most earnest manner, on an open declaration of its real sentiments with regard to peace, and to avail himself of all possible means to lead it back to sentiments of moderation, fitted for the present situation, and meeting with the wishes of Europe. The dispatches closed with the precise order to apply once more on this subject, in an official manner to his Britannic Majesty’s minister for Foreign Affairs, and to make to him the formal proposal for a maritime peace, on such principles as answered the interest of all the powers concerned; and as a provisional proof of his pacific disposition, to desist from the measures pursued against Denmark, and retract the declaration which accompanied them. Should the court of St. James’s reject these proposals, or purposely protract giving any answer, Prince Starhemberg was directed to demand his passports, and leave London, with every person belonging to the embassy.

“ It was the Emperor’s will that the above instructions should be restricted to such points of general interest, as were most likely to move the British cabinet to receive his proposals with attention and kindness; and if his Imperial Majesty ordered no complaints to be inserted of the numerous violations of his rights as a neutral power—violations, with regard to which his Majesty had not been able to obtain the least redress or compensation; the reason, no doubt, will be obvious, which induced his Majesty to pass by in silence whatever concerned his personal interest.

“ His Majesty’s ambassador in London could not but execute the positive orders which he had received from Vienna to their full extent. But being of opinion that he might yet indulge an hope of being able to prevail on the English ministry to show more pacific sentiments towards France, he was resolved to express at first only part of his orders, in a note addressed to Mr. Canning. On the 20th of November the Secretary of State answered that note by a mere repetition of the declaration made to Austria by England, in the month of April, 1807.

“ As all farther representation was now evidently ineffectual, a final notification was sent on the 22d of December to Prince Starhemberg, which repeated the order of the 30th of October, and

directed him before his departure, to give in a note, explaining circumstantially, the motives of the conduct of the court of Vienna towards the court of London.—These dispatches did not, however arrive in London till Prince Starhemberg had applied for and received his passes, and he no longer could have communication with the Secretary of State, and deliver in the note which had been transmitted to him. This representation, which is confined to the official communications that have passed between the governments, is sufficient to shew that the cabinet of St. James's cannot mistake the causes, nor the motives which have induced his Apostolic Majesty to break off the connexion which has hitherto existed between Austria and Great Britain.

“The Emperor nevertheless wishes to see the mument arrive, when the court of London, sensible of its true interests, shall, with calmness and justice, judge of and compare the situation of England with that of the other powers, and thereby enable his Majesty to renew with it his former friendly connexions.”

*Vienna, February 18, 1808.*

The above declaration excited no uneasiness either among the people or the government of England, who viewed it only as a feeble effort to preserve the friendship, or rather to quiet the fears of Buonaparté. At the same time his Apostolic Majesty was endeavouring, by slow and gradual means, to recruit and re-establish his finances and armies, so as to elude the suspicions of the French Emperor.

The Spanish Monarch, much about the same period, issued a decree against England, which complains of the abominable attack, made by the order of that government, on four frigates of the royal fleet, in 1806, sailing under the full assurance of peace. An aggression so atrocious, was deemed a sufficient motive for breaking all the bonds which unite one nation with another; and although two years had elapsed since the commencement of hostilities, Great Britain had not yet moderated her pride nor renounced the unjust domination she exercises over the seas; but, on the contrary, confounding at once friends, enemies, and neutrals, she has manifested

the formal intention of treating them all with the same tyranny.

From these considerations the Spanish Monarch, in conjunction with his intimate ally, the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, had declared the British Isles in a state of blockade, in order to see if that measure would reduce the British cabinet to abdicate its supremacy over the ocean, and conclude a solid and desirable peace. So far, however, from the English government being induced to relax in any of its hostile operations, it had even rejected the pacific propositions which were made to it by the Emperor of the French, whether directly, or by the mediation of different powers, friendly to England, and had also committed the most enormous of atrocities and injuries, by its scandalous attack on the city and harbour of Copenhagen, by which no person can any longer doubt that its insatiable ambition, aspires to the exclusive commerce and navigation of the seas. To prove this, nothing can be more evident than its Orders in Council of the 11th of November last, by which it declares, not only the court of France, Spain, and their allies, in a state of blockade, but has subjected the ships of neutral powers, the friends and even allies of England, to the visits of English cruizers, and to be forcibly carried into an English port; to pay a tax on their cargoes, the quantity of which is to be determined by the English legislature. His Catholic Majesty therefore, authorised by a just right of reprisal, is determined to take such measures as shall appear to him proper to prevent the abuse which the British cabinet makes of its power, with respect to neutral flags; and is fully resolved to adopt in all ports of

his kingdom, the same measures that have been taken by his intimate ally, the Emperor of the French and King of Italy.

But this decree, though intended to flatter and court the favour of Buonaparté, did not check his designs on the Spanish Monarch, who had already, in a great degree, ceased to have any reigning power or influence over the councils of his own kingdom. We accordingly find, that in but little more than a month afterwards, his country was completely invested with a French army, who, under pretence of marching to Valentia, made themselves masters of Barcelona. We have already noticed the weak conduct of Charles, in admitting so formidable a force into his dominions, notwithstanding the delusive advantages held out to him by Buonaparté, -that they were only intended for the conquest and subjugation of Portugal. On the 13th of February, 10,000 French troops arrived before the gates of Barcelona, which they entered without opposition, as the Governor had been given to understand, by the French commander, they were only to halt there for two or three days, in order to rest and refresh themselves. At the end of three days the *generale* was beaten and the whole French army appeared on the parade, seemingly prepared to march immediately. The inhabitants assembled, in order to take leave of their *friends*, when, to their astonishment and dismay, the French army divided into two columns, one of which marched to the citadel, of which they took instant possession, and the other to Mountjoi, a fort on the summit of a hill, commanding the town. In this fort there was a garrison of 6,000 Spaniards, who were obliged to quit it, not-



withstanding the remonstancé of the Spanish Commandant, that he must wait to receive the instructions of his Government, and of his readiness to afford the French troops every other accommodation they might require. The French Commander insisted on the immediate execution of his orders, and to which the Spaniards, though we are inclined to think they might have easily resisted this force, tamely submitted.

It is not in our power to ascertain, with accuracy, the number of troops Buonaparté marched into Spain, under pretence of complying with the conditions of the treaty of Fontainebleau, for the conquest and dismemberment of Portugal, from the 19th of October, 1807, to the 18th of January, 1808.

It is however stated, that the number who had entered that country through Iren or Irun, which is the last town in Spain, on the West side of that kingdom towards France, and stands near the river Bidasoa, which forms the boundary on that quarter, between the two kingdoms, is as follows:

|                           | <i>Infantry.</i> | <i>Cavalry.</i> |
|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| General Junot's division, | 29,879           | 3,653           |
| ..... Dupont's .....      | 23,927           | 3,121           |
| ..... Moncey's .....      | 17,983           | 3,330           |
|                           | <hr/>            | <hr/>           |
| Total                     | 71,789           | 10,104          |
|                           | <hr/>            | <hr/>           |

It was intended afterwards, to augment Moncey's division to 30,000 men, but it does not seem ever to have reached that number; the army that took possession of Barcelona, and other small bodies of troops which entered Spain, by different routes, are not included in the above return.



Buonaparté, who had thus far succeeded in his plans for the overthrow of the Spanish monarchy, had now become less *covert* in his choice of means to effect his purpose. He dispatched Don Isquierdo (who had been sometime detained at Paris, and who was deeply impressed with the displeasure of Napoleon towards the Royal Family of Spain), on a secret mission to Aranjuez. He brought with him no written proposals, nor was he to receive any; and he was commanded not to prolong his stay above three days. Immediately on his arrival at Aranjuez, he was conducted by the Prince of Peace to the King and Queen. What passed at this interview remained completely secret, but as soon as Isquierdo set out on his return to Paris, their Majesties began to incline to the plan of emigrating to their South American colonies; hence it has been inferred that Napoleon had suggested to them this measure, as a means to withdraw themselves from his vengeance, as well as to avoid the ruin with which, on every side, they were beset.

It is not easy to say whether the Prince of Peace coincided in the plan of the proposed emigration, in expectation that he might himself escape the displeasure of Buonaparté, whose friendship and protection, as we have before observed, had not been so plainly evinced towards him of late. Such a plan, however, could not long remain concealed, notwithstanding the utmost circumspection and caution. To carry it in execution, it was necessary to obtain the acquiescence of the Prince of Asturias, who hitherto was a stranger to the measures that had been concerted between his Royal Parents and the Prince of Peace, for their emigration. This

unavoidably divulged the scheme to Ferdinand's party, while the open and profuse preparations of the favourite, everywhere excited the most alarming suspicion of the King's friends. The events that intervened betwixt the first rumour of the emigration, and the abdication of Charles, have never reached us in any clear or well authenticated shape.

On the 15th of March a report was generally circulated, and believed, that the King, who was then at Aranjuez, was about to retire to Seville. This was regarded as a pretext for his emigration. A great council was said to have been held, respecting the propriety of this removal, who differed in their opinions. These rumours were confirmed, and rendered more alarming by orders given to the troops, stationed at Madrid, to leave the city.

The populace of such a place as Madrid, must, at all times, be easily agitated, when exposed to the influence of terror and alarm. The affairs of the nation had long been in the utmost confusion; the heads of the government had either lost the confidence of the people, or had fallen under their suspicion and hatred. The Prince of Peace was known to have an improper influence over the mind of the Monarch, and was thought capable of using that influence, even for the purpose of saving himself, at the expence of the honour and duty of his sovereign. The life of Ferdinand, to whom many looked forward as affording the nation a feeble hope of regaining its independence, had been once attacked, and now any hope that might be placed in him was likely to be destroyed entirely, if the Favourite succeeded in persuading or compelling him to emi-

grate. These considerations induced many to oppose the departure of the King for Seville. Other causes, not so easily analyzed or defined, operated on the minds of the multitude, who, after what they had experienced for several years, could not expect that the mere presence of the Royal Family would retard the arrival of the French army, or keep them in order and subjection when they did arrive. The apprehended evil, and the fear of being deserted in the hour of distress, even by those from whom they could look for no assistance or alleviation, urged them to take violent measures to prevent it.

The uneasiness of the people however subsided for a short interval, in consequence of a proclamation issued by the King on the 16th. On the next day the alarm became as great as before, when it was known that the Spanish guards had left Madrid for Aranjuez. The tumult was very violent, the populace collected in the streets and avenues of Aranjuez, and conjured the soldiers not to protect or suffer the flight of a Prince who, after sacrificing his subjects in Europe, was about to introduce disorder in the colonies. Those ministers who were unfavourable to the King's emigration, circulated the intelligence of his intended departure, among the neighbouring villages, in consequence of which, immense multitudes repaired from all quarters to Aranjuez, where their fears were fully confirmed by the active preparations making for the embarkation of the Royal Family. The luggage of the court was packing up in all the apartments, relays of horses were stationed on the road to Seville, and every thing seemed to announce the rapid flight of the court. The populace proceeded to stop their departure by

force; and to search for the Prince of Peace, as the instigator of this measure. The house of the Prince of Peace was defended by his guards, who had a particular watch word, those at the castle had another. At four in the morning the people rushed in crowds to his palace, but were repulsed by his guards. The life-guards took part with the people, and fell upon the Prince's guards, at length the gates were forced, the furniture broken, and the apartments rendered completely desolate. The Princess of Peace ran to the staircase, and was conducted to the palace with every protection due to her birth and rank. The Prince, her husband, had disappeared, and his brother, Don Diego Godoy, commandant of the life-guards, was arrested by his own soldiers.

The King found it necessary to issue two decrees, by one of which he declared the Favourite stripped of all his power and employments, and in the other he assured his subjects that the army of France had entered Spain, only as his friends, and that the Life Guards, instead of having left Madrid, for the purpose of accompanying him on a voyage, which he declared he never had any intention of taking, had quitted it solely for the protection of his person.

These proclamations, however, failed of producing the desired effect; the mob still increasing became more daring and violent. The Favourite, after having escaped the fury of the mob, was, afterwards, arrested in a garret of his own house, where he had concealed himself for thirty-six hours. The tumult still continuing, the King, on the 19th, took the extraordinary resolution of abdicating the throne in favour of the Prince of Asturias; this resolution was made known in the following decree:

## ROYAL DECREE.

" My habitual infirmities not permitting me to support any longer the important burden of the government of my kingdom, and it being requisite for the re-establishment of my health, that I should enjoy, in a more temperate climate, a private life, I have determined, after mature deliberation, to abdicate my crown, in favour of my heir, my dearly beloved son the Prince of Asturias.

" My royal will therefore is, that he should be duly recognised and obeyed, as King and natural Lord of all my kingdoms and sovereignties, and in order that this Royal decree of my free and spontaneous abdication, may be exactly and duly fulfilled, you will communicate it to the council, and to all others whom it may concern.

" I, THE KING.

Done at Aranjuez, March 19.

" DON PEDRO CEVALLOS."

The first act of Ferdinand, was to declare his resolution to confiscate the property of Don Manuel Godoy, who had taken out of the royal chest 36,000,000 of rials; and who, in the course of last month, had remitted 60,000,000 to Corruna, which were destined for London, where he has considerable treasure. Ferdinand also expressed his determination of shortly coming to Madrid to be proclaimed, and to use all the means in his power to redress the wrongs done to such of his subjects as had suffered from their attachment to his cause. He, likewise, appointed the Duke Infantado, a nobleman deservedly popular for his talents and his virtues, to the command of the Spanish guards, conferring on him the Presidency of Castile. The council also addressed the following proclamation to the people of Madrid:

## THE COUNCIL TO THE PEOPLE OF MADRID.

" Nothing ought to disturb the public tranquility in the happy moment of the elevation to the throne of Spain of the King Ferdinand VII. His faithful subjects have given in that happy hour to his Majesty proofs of their devotion and their affection. They ought not to doubt the affection which his Majesty has for them,

and that he will employ himself in acts for the public happiness, and for the accomplishment of the desires of the people of Madrid.

“ But what is most important to the success of the elevated views of his Majesty, is public order, and that this should be ensured, the council flatters itself that all the inhabitants of this faithful city will retire to their homes and that they will remain in the most perfect tranquillity, persuaded that they will then give to his Majesty, in the first moments of his reign, the best testimony of the sincerity of their sentiments, and of those acclamations of fidelity which have been recently heard.

“ R. M. DE TORRES.”

Secretary to his Majesty's Council, &c.

The abdication of Charles still remains involved in much mystery; the circumstances under which he first declared to resign his crown in favour of Ferdinand, and afterwards (while yet within the reach of Buonaparé) to recal that declaration, as having been forced from him, are neither of them such as could properly be said to leave his will unbiassed. In his letter to the Emperor Napoleon, he says, “ Your Majesty will, assuredly, hear with pain, of the events which have taken place at Aranjuez, and their consequence; you will not, without sympathy, see a King who has been compeled to resign his throne, throw himself into the arms of a great monarch, his ally, placing everything in his protection, who alone can fix his happiness and that of his whole family, and his dearly and beloved subjects. Under the pressure of the moment, and amid the clashing of weapons and the cries of a rebellious guard, I found that I had to choose between my life and death, and that my death would be followed by that of the Queen. I was compeled to abdicate the throne, but to day peace is restored; and full of confidence in the generosity and genius of the Great Man, who has at all times declared him-



self my friend, I have taken the resolution to resign myself into your hands, and to await what he shall resolve on my fate, that of the Queen, and of the Prince de la Paz: I address myself to your Majesty and protest against the events which took place at Aranjuez, and against my dethronement.

This declaration, however, has been regarded as an act of Buonaparté, in whose immediate power Charles then was. Don Cevallos, however, asserts, that three weeks before the disturbances took place at Aranjuez, Charles the IVth in his presence, and in that of all the other ministers of state, addressed her Majesty the Queen in these words: "Maria Lousia, we will retreat to one of the provinces, where we will pass our days in tranquility, and Ferdinand, who is a young man, will take upon himself the burthen of government." Should this speech have been uttered by Charles, which is by no means inconsistent with the weak character of that monarch, it does not thence follow as a proof that his resolution to abdicate his throne was either deliberate or spontaneous. He might have been influenced to name a successor in this manner, from the fears he apprehended of his own safety; and without any other design to carry it at that time in execution, than what might arise from the powerful interest and intrigues of the French Emperor, or the division which had already taken place among his own subjects, in favour of the Prince of Asturias. At all events, it cannot justify our belief that the abdication of Charles was his own voluntary act, or conformable to his wishes, more especially if we are to give any credit to the following Royal protest:

*Aranjuez, March 25.*

"I protest and declare, that my decree of the 19th of March, in which I renounce my crown in favour of my son, is a deed to which I was compelled in order to prevent greater calamity, and spare the blood of my beloved subjects. It is, therefore, to be considered of no authority.

(Signed)

"I, THE KING."

Don Cevallos however states, that no violence was done to his Majesty to extort an abdication of his crown, either by the people, or on the part of his son or any other persons. This may be true, and yet what we have noticed may, notwithstanding, have taken place as the result of a feeble and timid mind.

The accession of Ferdinand was by no means well received by Buonaparté, whose ambassador, then in Spain, it would seem, was previously instructed, not to offer the imperial congratulations of his master, on that occasion. Ferdinand, consequently, felt distrustful of the friendship of Napoleon, and began to concert such measures as he was in hopes would conciliate the favour of that monarch. He appointed a deputation of three grandees to proceed to Bayonne, to compliment him on his arrival at that place, and paid a similar respect to Murat, on his arrival with his army in the neighbourhood of Madrid. This agent of Buonaparté soon set about the mischief he intended to accomplish. He sent a letter to the deposed Sovereign, condoling him on the hardness and injustice of his fate, and promising him the assistance of the Emperor, in case his abdication, as he suspected, should prove to have been involuntary. Such a letter was sure to give a proper tone and direction to Charles's narrative. He thanked Murat for the

share he had taken in his calamities, and declares his abdication had been effected by treachery and corruption. In these transactions he equally implicates the Prince of Asturias and Caballero, the minister of Justice, that if he had not agreed to give up the throne in favour of his son, his own life, and that of his Queen, most probably, would have been sacrificed. That the conduct of the Prince of Asturias was still more shocking. Having perceived his desire to reign, and he, (the King) being near 60 years of age, had agreed to surrender the crown to his son, on his marriage taking place with a French princess, which the King ardently desired. The King added to this, that the Prince of Asturias was desirous that he and the Queen should repair to Badajoz, on the frontiers of Portugal, although he had found means to inform him that the climate of that country did not suit him, and begged him to permit his choosing another place; for which he sought to obtain permission of the Emperor, to purchase an estate in France where he might end his days.

The next contrivance of Murat was to deceive Ferdinand respecting the intentions of Buonaparté. He assured him that his master might be expected every moment at Madrid, in order to harass and perplex the mind of Ferdinand, especially as he took care to add that the abdication of Charles, amidst the tumults of Aranjuez, could not be regarded as an act of his free choice; and hinted, until the Emperor acknowledged Ferdinand, he must carefully abstain from taking any step that looked like a recognition of his title, and still continued to treat only with the royal Father. In

order the more to alarm Ferdinand, and to widen the difference between him and his father, Murat professed to take an interest in the fate of the Favourite, and promised Charles that he would procure his enlargement.

Before the entrance of the French army into Madrid, the following proclamation was ordered by the Grand Duke of Berg, for the better discipline of the troops, under his command.

### PROCLAMATION.

“SOLDIERS!

“You are now about to enter the capital of a friendly power; I recommend to you the best discipline, the best order, and the best friendship with its inhabitants. It is a nation to which we are allied, and which ought to find in the French army a true friend. And recollect the good treatment you have already experienced in the provinces through which we have traversed.

“Soldiers—I hope this recommendation will be sufficient, and for which I am guaranteed by the good conduct which you have already observed; but if I find any individual forging that he is a Frenchman, he shall be punished, and any excess shall be severely punished in consequence of that which I shall order.—That any officer committing any crime, or neglecting his duty, shall be deprived of his commission and be delivered over to a military commission for justice.—All soldiers found guilty of robbing, concealing, or of *volation*, shall be shot.—Any serjeant or soldier, convicted of abusing or ill-treating the inhabitants, shall be delivered over to the rigour of the laws; if of murder to be shot.—Any serjeant or soldier found drunk in the streets, shall be condemned to eight days confinement in the stocks, and the serjeant be sent into the ranks.—All serjeants or soldiers found in the streets after the beating of the retreat—two days imprisonment.

“Generals, Chiefs of Regiments, and Commanders of the French Army in Madrid—each of you will see, as far as it concerns you, that these orders are punctually executed, and that they be read at the head of every company.

(Signed)

“JOAQUIM,

“Lieutenant-General Commander of the Van-Guard of the French Army, and of the Troops cantoned at Madrid.

(Countersigned)

“EM. GROUCHY.”

While things were in this situation, Murat plainly perceived how unfavourable the accession of Ferdinand would prove to the views of Buonaparté.

He had witnessed the loyal attachment which was everywhere displayed on the part of the inhabitants of Madrid, as soon as their new sovereign made his appearance among them, in consequence of which he made use of every effort to withdraw him from the capital. He assured the young King that, by proceeding to meet Buonaparté, whom he represented as having already entered the Spanish territories, that he would so please and conciliate the Emperor, as to remove all obstacles that might arise as to the recognition of his title. Fearing, however, he might not, in the first instance, succeed in his schemes to effect the removal of Ferdinand and the rest of the Royal Family, from Madrid, in order to place them more fully in the power of Buonaparté; his efforts were more particularly directed to induce the Infante don Carlos to set off and welcome his imperial master. Having succeeded in this, he applied himself to work on the fears of Ferdinand; but the King was not so easily deceived or terrified. Cevallos strongly advised him not to leave the capital till Buonaparté's arrival in Spain, (and within a short distance of Madrid), was more certain. This advice would, probably, have prevailed and ultimately decided the conduct of Ferdinand, had it not been for the arrival of General Savary, who, in his character as envoy from the Emperor, demanded an audience.

At this audience he officially declared the willingness of Buonaparté, to overlook what had passed, to withhold all interference in the arrangement of the affairs in Spain, and to recognize Ferdinand, provided that he were assured that his sentiments with respect to France, were conformable to those



of his father. On this head the King gave him the most satisfactory assurances, when nothing further passed in the audience chamber; scarcely had General Savary, however, left that royal apartment, when he began to execute the chief and most important object of his mission. He assured Ferdinand that Buonaparté's arrival might be momentarily expected; and that nothing could be more flattering or agreeable to the French Emperor than that Ferdinand would leave his capital to meet him. Not knowing whether more was to be dreaded from disobeying this request, than from his compliance with it, he at length yielded to the pressing solicitations of General Savary. Previous to his leaving Madrid, he issued a Royal Decree, in which he stated that the approaching visit of his faithful friend and mighty ally, the Emperor of the French, gave him much satisfaction, as it promised to be of great advantage to his kingdom and subjects. The close friendship between them had induced him to leave Madrid for a few days, for the purpose of receiving the Emperor with proper marks of respect and attachment. During his short absence, he had appointed a Supreme Junta, and placed at the head of it his uncle Don Antonio. He trusted that his faithful subjects would remain tranquil and obedient to the laws, and especially that the utmost harmony would prevail among the Spanish and French troops in the capital; and that the latter would be punctually supplied with every thing necessary for their maintainance, till the great object the Emperor had in view by this meeting, the closer and firmer alliance, between the two kingdoms, was happily brought to pass; and of this, he declared, he entertained not the smallest doubt.



## CHAPTER XI.

*Ferdinand deceived by General Savary.—Arrives at Vittoria.—Receives a Letter from Buonaparté, and proceeds to Bayonne, is informed by the French Emperor he must renounce the Spanish Throne.—Conference of Cevallos and Champagny, on the Subject.—Interrupted by Buonaparté, who treats the former with much Indignity.—Letter of Charles to the Prince of Asturias, on yielding the Sovereignty of Spain to the Emperor of the French.—Observations on the Protest against the Abdication, by Charles.—Conduct of the Duke of Berg towards Ferdinand; his Proclamation to the French Army before their Entrance into Madrid.—Embassy of General Savary to Ferdinand.—The latter leaves his Capital to meet the French Emperor, &c. &c.*

HAVING noticed, in our last chapter, the acts by which Ferdinand was persuaded to leave his capital, in order to meet Buonaparté, we shall now proceed to relate the other events connected with the unhappy journey and fate of that Monarch.

General Savary had falsely represented to Ferdinand, that Buonaparté was at no greater distance than Burgos, where he would be certain to meet him. When they arrived at that place, the Emperor was not there; in consequence of which, General Savary had recourse to some other means of enticement to induce Ferdinand to continue his journey to Vittoria, where he was fully assured he would find Buonaparté. On reaching Vittoria, Ferdinand found himself again disappointed and deceived. Here he was surrounded by French troops, but could discover no preparation for the reception of their august sovereign. In the meantime General Savary pursued his route to join the

latter at Bayonne, and to concert with him such measures as was necessary to secure the person of Ferdinand. During the short stay of the Prince of Asturias at Vittoria, General Savary was charged with the following letter to him from Buonaparté :

LETTER OF HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR TO THE PRINCE OF  
ASTURIAS.

*Bayonne, April 16.*

*“ My Brother!—*I have received the letter of your Royal Highness: in the papers which you have received from the King, your Highness’s father, you must have found a proof of the interest which I have always felt for you. You will permit me, under the present circumstances, to speak to you with truth and frankness. I wished by my journey to Madrid, to draw over my illustrious friend to some necessary ameliorations of his state, and also to give a certain satisfaction to the public feelings. The removal of the Prince of the Peace appeared to me to be necessary for the prosperity of his Majesty and that of his subjects. The affairs of the North had retarded my journey. The events at Aranjuez took place. I pass no decision on what had previously fallen out, nor upon the conduct of the Prince of the Peace; but I know well that it is dangerous for kings to accustom their people to shed blood, or to seek to redress themselves. I Pray God, that your Royal Highness may never feel this interest of Spain to injure a Prince who has married a Princess of the blood royal, and who for a long time directed the affairs of the kingdom. He no longer has any friends: your Royal Highness will possess them no longer than while you shall be fortunate. The people willingly revenge themselves for that homage which they pay us. How can the process be drawn up against the Prince of the Peace, without involving in it the Queen and King your father? This process would give nourishment to hatred and factious passions, the issue of which would be fatal to your crown. *Your Royal Highness has no other right thereto than that which you derive from your mother.* If this process degrade her, your Royal Highness destroys your own right. He who has lent an ear to weak and disloyal counsels, has no right to pass sentence on the Prince of the Peace. His misdeeds, if he can be reproached with them, go to destroy the rights of the crown. I have frequently expressed a desire, that the Prince of the Peace should be removed from affairs; the friendship of King Charles has often induced me to remain silent, and to turn away my eyes from the weakness of his conduct. Unhappy mortals that we were! weakness and error, these are our mottos! but all may be arranged; namely, that the Prince of the Peace should be banished from Spain, and I should invite him to a place of retirement of France. As to the abdication of King Charles the Fourth, that has taken place at a moment

when my troops were traversing Spain; and in the eyes of Europe, and of posterity, I should seem to have sent so many troops solely for the purpose of pushing from his throne, my ally, and friend. As a neighbour Sovereign, it is fit that I should know this abdication, before I acknowledged it. I say it to your Royal Highness, to the Spaniards, and to the whole world, it the abdication of King Charles has proceeded from his own will, if he was not driven to it by the insurrection and uproar at Aranjuez, I make no scruple to accede to it, and to acknowledge your Royal Highness as King of Spain. The circumspection which I have observed for this month past, must be a security to you for the support which you shall find in me, should ever party difference disturb you, in your turn, upon the throne.

“When King Charles made me acquainted with the events of last October, I was very much affected by them; and I think that by my efforts the affair of the Escorial received a happy issue. Your Royal Highness was much to blame. I have no need of any other proof of this, than the letter which you wrote to me, and which I shall always desire to consider as not having come to me. Your Royal Highness must distrust all popular commotions and insurrections. *A few of my soldiers may be murdered, but the subjugation of Spain shall be the consequence of it.* I see with pain that some persons at Madrid have disseminated certain letters of the Captain-General of Catalonia, and have done every thing to excite disturbances among the people. Your Royal Highness perfectly comprehends my meaning. You perceive that I have touched slightly upon many points, which it would not be proper to enlarge upon.

“You may be assured that I will conduct myself in every thing towards you, in the same way as to your royal father. You may rely upon my desire to arrange every thing, and of finding an opportunity of giving you proof of my perfect regard and esteem. Herewith accept, &c.”

The contents of the foregoing letter were not calculated to remove the fears or quiet the suspicions of Ferdinand; but he was now too much in the power of Buonaparté to recede from the dangerous situation he had thus been drawn into by the flattering representations of General Savary, who still continued to assure him that if he would only go forward to Bayonne, within a quarter of an hour after his arrival, he would be recognized as King of Spain and the Indies. He at length succeeded in prevailing on Ferdinand to quit the Spanish territories, and who no sooner entered those of France,

than he perceived his regal sway had wholly departed from him, and that he was no longer treated with the respect due to a sovereign and an ally of the French Emperor. He was much chagrined at the want of attention which was everywhere so manifest in the persons about him, no one came to receive or welcome him. On reaching Bayonne, he was waited upon by the Prince of Neufchatel, and Duroc, and conducted to a place not suited to his rank or dignity. He was not permitted, however, to remain long in doubt of the intentions of the Emperor, or of his own fate. These intentions were soon communicated, with the accustomed brevity that characterises all the *deposing acts* of Buonaparté. Ferdinand dined with him, at which interview nothing material passed. He was received and treated, as the friend and ally of his host, but no sooner had he quitted the Emperor's presence, and had returned to his residence, than he was waited upon by General Savary, who, in the name of his master, declared the irrevocable determination that the Bourbon dynasty should no longer reign in Spain; and that it should be succeeded by the family of Buonaparte. This determination was coupled with a requisition that Ferdinand should, in his own name, and in that of all his family, renounce his royal inheritance of the Crown of Spain and the Indies, in favour of the Emperor of the French.

Ferdinand, as may be easily conceived, was greatly astonished at this message, and alarmed at the nature of such a request, which appears much to have exceeded the suspicions he had entertained before he left Madrid, of the intentions of the French Emperor in so strenuously urging this meeting. He

could not have thought that it was for this object, that the grossest falsehoods, had been employed to decoy him away from his capital. But he had now no other choice left, than to submit, unconditionally, to any terms that might be offered to him.

On the day following the above communication, Cevallos, in a conference with Champagny, Minister of Foreign Affairs, attempted to effect some change in the resolutions taken by the Emperor, and complained of the perfidy by which the Spanish Monarch had been betrayed. He observed, that, the King his Master had come to Bayonne, relying on the solemn and repeated assurances of General Savary, given in the name of the Emperor, that his Imperial Majesty would recognize him, at the first interview, as Sovereign of Spain and the Indies. He, therefore, strongly protested against any violence that might be offered to the person of Ferdinand, in order to prevent his return to Spain, and declared he was determined never to renounce his crown in favour of any other dynasty. In reply to these remonstrances of Cevallos, Champagny merely affirmed the necessity of the renunciation, and that the abdication of Charles had not been voluntary. On this subject Cevallos took occasion to remark the inconsistency of demanding the renunciation of Ferdinand, and of denying his claim to the throne, by contending that his father's title to it still remained unabdicated. He however adverted to some of the former proofs we have given, that the abdication of his Royal Parent was unconstrained and voluntary. The French Minister then turned to another subject, and endeavoured to show that Buonaparté had resolved upon this measure of



changing the dynasty, because, while it continued governed by a family, which must sympathize in the misfortunes of its elder branch, he could never safely rely on its alliance, or assistance in case of a war between him and the powers of the North? In answer to this, Cevallos appealed to the constant and uniform adherence of Spain to the interests and plans of France, even at the expence of her own prosperity and happiness. But if her former conduct had not already exhibited a sufficient proof that France had no cause to apprehend any evil from the supposed predeliction of the Royal Family on the throne, yet there were other considerations, of a local and political nature, that could not fail to superinduce the interest of Spain, to incline to a good understanding with France. He then adverted to the bad effect such a change might produce on the part of France; and observed, while the Spanish nation were placed under the immediate government of their own Royal Family, they had evinced every readiness to submit to such measures and privations as were wholly calculated to promote the welfare of France. Buonaparté, therefore, by that means, could turn their strength and resources to whatever object or purpose he pleased; but should he deprive them of the name of their independence, by new modelling the regal power of that government, instead of co-operating as heretofore with the views of France, the Spanish nation would turn against her; England would eagerly afford them assistance; and thus, by endeavouring to render Spain; a more powerful auxillary in promoting the schemes of the French Emperor, he would unite them in a community of interest, and plans, with his enemies.



Cevallos proceeded to expatiate on the inconsistency of the proposals made to Ferdinand, with the treaty signed at Fontainebleau, in which the integrity and existence of the Spanish Monarchy, as it then stood, was most solemnly guaranteed by Buonaparté, nor had any thing since occurred to justify any infraction of that treaty. Spain had complied with every thing that had been required of her by France, and with which Buonaparté had expressed himself fully satisfied, and had even bestowed many praises on the good faith and sincerity of his first and most intimate ally. Cevallos concluded by declaring, should Buonaparté persevere in his rigorous conduct towards Ferdinand, he would involve himself in a war with Spain, which could not terminate but in the total destruction of one party.

At this period the French Emperor, who had overheard all that had passed, commanded Champagny and Cevallos to enter his cabinet, when he upbraided the latter in very severe terms, as being a traitor; because, having been a Minister to Charles, he now acted in that capacity to Ferdinand. He accused him, in an angry tone, with having maintained an official conference with General Mention, in which he had said, that the recognition of Buonaparté, was by no means necessary, to establish the validity of Ferdinand's title to the throne, though such a recognition might prove the means of continuing the amicable relations between the two countries. What chiefly irritated the feelings of the Emperor of the French, and rendered him still more incensed against Cevallos, was the menace held out by the latter, that should the French ever dare to

attack the independance of the Spanish Monarchy, 300,000 men would rise up in arms to defend it, and repel its invaders. Buonaparté having indulged in the paroxysms of his anger and resentment, finding he could neither convince nor silence the Spanish Minister, peremptorily declared to him: "I have a system of policy of my own. You ought to adopt more liberal ideas, to be less susceptible on the point of honor, and not sacrifice the prosperity of Spain to the interest of the Bourbon Family."

As soon as this conference was over, Ferdinand was given to understand, that upon the subject under discussion some other negociator would be preferred to Don Cevallos, whose inflexibility of temper had incurred the displeasure of the Emperor of the French. Accordingly the Archdeacon don Juan de Escoequiz, was persuaded to visit Champagny for the purpose of learning the most mild and favourable terms, to which Buonaparté would consent: these terms, however, differed in no respect from those which had been verbally communicated to Ferdinand, by General Savary, at least as far as they respected the placing of his own family on the throne of Spain; but they held out a kind of compensation in the event that Ferdinand should quietly agree to the cession of his rights, and a threat in case he should refuse compliance. By the first, the Emperor promised to confer on him, and his descendants, the crown of Etruria, which, in failure of the issue of Ferdinand, should be secured to his brother Don Carlos, provided he also signed the renunciation. The niece of the Emperor was also to be at the disposal of Ferdinand, if he chose to demand her in

marriage. But should he decline these conditions, his Imperial Majesty would then execute his plans by force, and leave him without compensation.

In this state of affairs, an attempt was made by Ferdinand, apparently with the advice of Cevallos, to put off his final determination. Instructions were given to Don Pedro de Labrador, on whose attachment and talents the King had the greatest reliance, to demand a conference with Champagny, in which he was to present his own full powers for negociating on the subject, and to demand Champagny's full powers in return. He was also instructed to represent to the French minister that, in order to make the renunciation of Ferdinand valid or binding, it was absolutely necessary that he should enjoy perfect liberty to return to Madrid, where he could, with more propriety, receive the proposals of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, in an official manner. But while his liberty was thus restrained, any renunciation of his would only tend to injure the reputation of the Emperor in the eyes of the world, and excite the hatred of the Spanish nation towards him, in the most forcible manner. These arguments, however, were little listened to, on the part of the French minister, who rejected the proposals of Don Pedro de Labrador, as unnecessary to promote the main object of the negociation. Labrador, unable to make any favourable impression on Champagny, and unwilling to commit himself by any unguarded expression, terminated the conversation by asking, if Ferdinand was in a state of liberty? to which the French minister replied, there could be no doubt of it; upon this Labrador rejoined, then he should be restored to

his kingdom. "In respect to his return to Spain," answered Champagny, "it was necessary his Majesty should have a right understanding with the Emperor". This is sufficient to show in what state of bondage the king was held, as well as the object of his detention at Bayonne. In order, however, that this infringement of the liberty of Ferdinand might be declared in a more official and ostensible manner, Cevallos addressed a note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, intimating the intention of his Royal Master to return to Madrid, where his presence was required, not only for regulating the affairs of his kingdom, but for the purpose of tranquilizing the minds of his subjects, who had been thrown into much confusion and disorder by his protracted absence. At the same time Cevallos proffered to remain at Bayonne, to treat with his Imperial Majesty on the mutual interests of the two kingdoms. The only effect produced by this note, was an increased vigilance to prevent the departure of Ferdinand.

Buonaparté, in order to remove all further obstacles to his schemes to get possession of the crown of Spain, determined to have Charles brought to Bayonne, and to employ him as an agent against his son, with a view that he should obtain from the latter a renunciation of his rights to the reigning sovereignty he had so lately acquired. The Grand Duke of Berg had orders sent him, to persuade the Royal Parents to set out on their journey to Bayonne, which, however, they refused, unless the Favourite should be permitted to precede them. Murat applied to the Junta for his liberation, but as they had received instructions from Ferdinand, on

no account to deliver him up to the French, they at first declined to grant it, and sent to Bayonne to know how they were to act. By a Royal Order of Ferdinand, they were commanded to make known to the Grand Duke of Berg, that the liberation of Don Manuel Godoy was, at that time, the subject of a treaty between the two sovereigns. Buonaparté, in the meanwhile, informed the Duke of Berg, that the Prince of Asturias had put the prisoner Godoy at his disposal, he therefore claimed, in an absolute and peremptory manner, the surrender of his person from the Junta. These orders were instantly carried into execution, by Murat, and the Favourite was released by the Junta, and conveyed to Bayonne, where he was soon afterwards followed by Charles and his Royal consort.

The situation of Ferdinand was now more embarrassing and desperate than before; beset on every side with difficulties, and perceiving no method of extricating himself from the confinement in which he was held, but by yielding up a title he could no longer retain, and which he had no power to defend; he, on the 1st of May, made a conditional renunciation of his crown in favour of Charles.

In the letter to his Royal Parent, he expressed much surprize at his wish to resume the government, after having resigned the sceptre to his hands; and felt much at a loss in what light to view the request that he should renounce the crown in favour of a parent who did not mean again to wear it. His filial attachment and obedience, prompted him to comply with this extraordinary request, although he did not know how to reconcile the proposed renunciation with his *duty* as a sovereign, and those fun-



damental laws of the kingdom, which confirmed the power which his father's free resignation had bestowed. He wished, if possible, to act at once, and as became a dutiful and obedient son, and in conformity with those laws from which he derived his authority, and was, therefore, willing to resign his crown in favour of his Royal Parent on the following conditions: 1st. That they should both return together to Madrid. 2d. That a Cortez should be assembled there; or if it were more agreeable to his father, that all the tribunals and deputies of the kingdoms should be convoked. 3d. That in the presence of this assembly he would execute his renunciation in due form, and declare the reasons which induced him to make it, arising solely from his anxious wish to preserve the public tranquillity and keep the nation from a civil war. 4th. His Royal Father should not be accompanied by those individuals who had justly excited the hatred of the Spanish people. 5th. That should his father not be disposed to reign in person, nor to reside in Spain, he was to be invested with the supreme command in the royal name. These conditions were wholly unattended to by Charles, who returned the following letter to Ferdinand, in answer to the one we have just noticed:

TO THE PRINCE OF ASTURIAS.

“ MY SON!

“ The faithless councils of the men who surround you have brought Spain into a most distressing situation. The country now cannot be saved but by the Emperor.

“ Since the peace of Basle, I have been always convinced, that it was the first interest of my people to preserve a good understanding with France, and I have considered no sacrifice too great to attain that object. Even when France was the prey of tempo-



rary governments, I determined to repress my own inclinations and be guided only by a regard to sound policy and the welfare of my subjects: but when the French Emperor had restored order in France, then my apprehension was in a great degree removed, so that I had then new reasons for remaining faithful to my system of alliance.

“ When England declared war against France, I had the good fortune to remain neutral, and thereby to afford to my people the advantage of peace. *England, however, soon after captured four of my frigates, and made war upon me before war was declared. Thus was I compelled to repel force by force, and the evils of war were extended to my subjects!*

“ Spain being surrounded by coasts, and being indebted for her greatest prosperity to her trans-marine possessions, suffered more than any other country by the war. The interruption of trade, and all the evils connected with that state of affairs were experienced by my subjects, some of whom were uncandid enough to throw all the blame on me and my ministers. I had, however, at least the consolation that the country was safe, and had no reason to be alarmed for the preservation of my provinces. At the same time, I was the only king in Europe who lived in this security, amidst the convulsions of these latter times; and I should still have enjoyed tranquility, had it not been for the advice which has turned you aside from the path of duty. You have been too easily led away by the hatred which your first wife cherished against France, and you have participated in her obstinate dislike to my ministers, your mother, and myself.

“ I resorted to the rights of a father and a king, and arrested you, when I found among your papers proofs of your guilt. But at the end of my career, about to become the prey of grief, I felt for the tears of your mother, and forgave you.

“ Meanwhile, my subjects were agitated by the false representations of a faction, at the head of which you placed yourself. From that moment the peace of my life was gone, and to the evils which had befallen my people, I had still to add, that distress which the disunion of my family had occasioned.—Even my ministers were slandered to the Emperor of the French, who, thinking he perceived that Spain wished to depart from her alliance, and seeing the disposition to disorder even in my family, occupied, under various pretexts, my states with his troops; but so long as they remained on the right side of the Ebro, and appeared destined to maintain a communication with Portugal, I still hoped that he would return to those feelings of respect and friendship which he had always testified towards me. When I learned that his troops advanced towards my capital, I felt it necessary to assemble my army around me, in order to exhibit myself to my illustrious ally in that state which became the King of Spain. Thus I expected his doubts would be removed, and my own interests adjusted. I recalled my troops from Portugal, and ordered those in Madrid to evacuate that capital, and directed them to

assemble on several points of the monarchy. This was not done for the purpose of abandoning my subjects, but, on the contrary, in order to maintain more worthily the glory of the crown. My long experience convinced me that the Emperor of the French, consistently with his own interests, and the extended political system of the continent, could entertain no wish prejudicial to my house. But in the mean time what was your conduct? You threw my whole palace into confusion. You instigated my guards to turn against me. Your father was your prisoner. My prime minister, whom I had reared and adopted into my family, was dragged bleeding from dungeon to dungeon. You have disgraced my grey hairs; you have bereft them of a crown worn with lustre by my ancestors, and which I have preserved without a stain; you have ascended my throne, and have put yourself into the hands of the people of Madrid, who are instigated by the numbers of your party, and of the foreign troops that have entered the city.

"The conspiracy at the Escorial was accomplished, and the acts of my government were consigned to public contempt. Old, and loaded with infirmities, I could not withstand this new misfortune, and fled to the French Emperor, no longer as a king at the head of his troops, and surrounded with the lustre of the throne, but as an unfortunate and abandoned prince. I have found a place of refuge and protection in the midst of his army. I am indebted to him for my life, for the life of my queen, and for that of my prime minister. I have followed you to Bayonne. You have brought affairs to such a state, that henceforth every thing must depend upon the arrangement and protection of this great prince. To have recourse to insurrections of the people, to plant the standard of faction, would be the ruin of Spain, and would reduce yourself, my kingdom, my subjects, and my family to the greatest wretchedness. I have opened my whole heart to the Emperor. He is acquainted with all the insults I have received, and the usurpation imposed upon me. He has declared to me that he will never acknowledge you as King, and that the enemy of his father can excite no confidence in the breast of a stranger. He has besides shewn me letters which contains proofs of your aversion from France.

"Under these circumstances it is evidently my right, and still more evidently my duty, to spare the blood of my subjects, and not at the end of my days to adopt a course which would expose Spain to fire and sword, and reduce the country to the most wretched condition. Assuredly you ought, faithful to your duty, and to the feelings of nature, to have rejected the traitorous councils given you. Had you constantly appeared by my side, ready for my defence, and had waited till the usual course of nature had raised you to the throne, then the political interests of Spain might have been brought to coincide with the interest of all. For these six months circumstances have been very critical; but such as they were, I should not have feared to meet them, supported by

the good conduct of my subjects, and even my own feeble efforts; but above all, with the moral power which I should have possessed in proposing to my ally an arrangement calculated to reconcile the interests of my subjects and my family. In depriving me of my crown, you have broken your own in pieces; you have stripped it of all that was illustrious, of all that rendered it sacred in the eyes of men.

“But your conduct towards me, and your intercepted letters, have erected a brazen wall between you and the throne of Spain. I am a King in the right of my ancestors. My abdication was a consequence of compulsion. I have therefore nothing to receive from you. I can consent to no meeting—I will consent to nothing that may occasion a civil war or insurrections. Every thing ought to be done for the people, but nothing by them, and to forget this principle is to make ourselves guilty of all the consequences which its neglect occasions. I have, through my whole life, sacrificed myself for my people, and, at the years at which I am arrived, I shall never do any act repugnant to their religion, their tranquility, and their prosperity. But all my sacrifices will be forgotten whenever I am informed that the religion of Spain, the inviolability of my provinces, and their privileges and independence are secured; I shall then lie down in my grave, forgiving you all the sorrow which in my latter years, you have occasioned me.

“CHARLES.”

“*Done at Bayonne, in the Imperial Palace,  
called the Government, May 2.*”

From the spirit and tenor of this epistle, it clearly proves, that the arrival of Charles, at Bayonne, had already been favorably instrumental to the views of the French Emperor, who had now the father and son both completely in his power.

The letter which Ferdinand sent in reply to the one we have just given, is as remarkable for its forbearance, temper, and candor, as his father's is for its harshness, and want of feeling. He commences, by expressing his cordial approbation of the system of politics which had been uniformly followed in Spain since the peace of Basle. With respect to the first charge brought against him, the conspiracy of the Escorial, his innocence had already been sufficiently proved in that affair, by the

unanimous declaration of the eleven counsellors, who were appointed by his father to investigate the truth of the charge, and by whom he was most honorably acquitted. He then proceeds to comment on that part of his father's letter which pretended to account for the recall, and concentrating the armies of Spain, and considers those reasons very insufficient for the assembling of the Spanish troops at Aranjuez, which have been assigned by Charles. Such a measure could only be regarded as one of those schemes by which the emigration of the latter was to be effected; and being so considered, it was not to be wondered at that the populace should feel incensed at the contemplated removal of their monarch, or that they should wreak their vengeance on the Prince of Peace as the chief instigator of the intended emigration of his Royal Father. The only part (it states) which the son took in this disturbance, was at the request of his Royal Father, to seek out, and endeavour to protect the Favorite. And yet this minister, the principal, if not the sole object of the popular fury, during the insurrection at Aranjuez, whom the King was so anxious to screen from the violence of the mob, was deemed so inimical to the true happiness and interest of Spain, by Buonaparté, that one of the chief objects of his journey to Madrid, was to endeavour to persuade the Spanish Monarch to strip him of his power and influence.

The commotion, therefore, at Aranjuez, did not, in the least, affect the Person or authority of his Royal parent, except in the imprisonment of his Minister; on the contrary, the inhabitants expressed the utmost loyalty and attachment to his person

and government. His abdication was, consequently, received with surprize by all his faithful subjects; and by no one more than his son, in whose favor it was made. His Royal Parent's intentions to resign was first communicated to his ministers and to the *diplomatique* body, declaring it to be his wish and spontaneous choice. He also noticed that on his own accession to the sovereignty of Spain, he was as favorable to the alliances and interests of France, as his Royal Father had been, and which would appear not only from the letters he wrote to the Emperor, after he had ascended the throne, but from the many other proofs he had given of his attachment; yet anxious on every occasion, to meet the wishes of his Royal Parent, and more particularly when what he proposed tended to insure and strengthen the alliance between the two kingdoms, he had readily consented to unite in marriage with the niece of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, as soon as he was informed that such an alliance had been projected by Buonaparté, and sanctioned by his Royal Father. He was, therefore, astonished and confounded, when, instead of the recognition of his title and authority to the throne of Spain, it had been required of him to resign his right to it, in favour of the family of Buonaparté. With respect to the Protest of his Father, his Abdication was forced and involuntary; he had been assured, on questioning his Royal Parent concerning this Protest, that it was free and spontaneous though not intended to be permanent; notwithstanding, at the time of his Abdication, no reserve was made for resuming the crown whenever he might think proper; but, on the



contrary, it was expressly declared, that he neither would reign nor return to Spain. Under these circumstances, Ferdinand contended he had in no wise acted wrong in taking upon himself the reigning power, after the formal and unconstrained renunciation made of it, in his favour by his Royal Parent. He likewise observed that the proposals for assembling the Cortez, or the Council and Deputies, was not made because their presence was considered necessary to give effect to the re-transfer of the crown of Spain to his Royal Parent, but solely that everything consistent with the honour and dignity of the sovereignty of the kingdom, might be attended to, on so solemn an occasion. He again renewed the proposed alternative to resign the crown in favor of his Royal Parent, in case he wished to resume the government in his own person, otherwise he hoped he might be permitted to act as the representative of his Royal Father; should the latter still adhere to his determination to reside out of the Spanish dominions, but which he implores him not to do, if he has any regard for his health or the peace and tranquility of his mind. Above all, Ferdinand conjures his Royal Parent, not to exclude their dynasty from the throne of Spain, and to substitute in its room the Imperial Family of France.

On the 5th of May, the day after the above letter was written, Buonaparté had a long conversation with the Royal Parents; what took place may easily be collected from the following circumstances, as described by Cevallos. "At five o'clock King Ferdinand was called in by his August Father, to hear, in the presence of the Queen and the Emperor, expressions so disgusting and humiliating, that I do





not dare to record them; all the party were seated, except Ferdinand, whom the father ordered to make an absolute renunciation of the crown, under pain of being treated, with all his household, as an usurper of the throne, and a conspirator against the life of his parent."

Buonaparté, however, it would seem, did not regard the renunciations of Ferdinand, to his father, as requisite to render the resignation of the latter in his favour valid; for on the very day on which the foregoing scene took place, and even before Ferdinand had yielded obedience to his Royal Parent, Charles had already executed the deed of his resignation, which transferred his title to the Emperor of the French. In this deed it is declared, on the part of Charles, that his sole object for executing it, is to prevent those dissensions among his people which the factions, in his own family, had an unavoidable tendency to produce; and that a peace shall take place only on these conditions. 1st. That the integrity of the kingdom of Spain shall be preserved. 2d. That the Prince placed on the throne of Spain, by the Emperor, should be independant. It also provides, that the King, Queen, and Prince of Peace, shall preserve their respective ranks in France with such of their servants as shall choose to follow them, and that the Imperial palace of Compeigne shall be at the disposal of King Charles, during his life, that a civil list of 80,000,000 reals shall be allotted to the King, the dowry of the Queen, at his death, shall be 2,000,000. To the Infantas of Spain the annual sum of 400,000 lives is to be secured, and the King will give up to Napoleon, his personal landed property in Spain, in exchange for the castle of Chambord.

It was judged expedient to prepare the minds of the Spanish nation for this transfer of them to the Emperor of the French, for which purpose Charles addressed the following royal mandates to the Supreme Council of Castile, the Inquisition, and Junta of the government.

TO THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF CASTILE, THE COUNCIL OF INQUISITION, &c.

"In the present extraordinary circumstances, we have resolved to give a new proof of our affection towards our beloved subjects, whose happiness during the whole course of our reign, has been the constant object of our solicitude. We have therefore abdicated all our claims upon the Spanish kingdoms in favour of our friend and ally the Emperor of the French, by a treaty which has been signed and ratified, and which stipulates for the integrity and independence of the Spanish kingdoms, and the preservation of our Holy religion, not only as the predominant, but as the sole and exclusive religion in Spain.

"We have, therefore, thought proper to send you this letter, that you should conform yourselves thereto, publish its contents, and make every exertion in support of the Emperor Napoleon. Display the utmost frankness and friendship towards the French, and, above all, direct all your care to preserve the country from insurrections and tumults.

"In the new condition upon which we are entering, we shall frequently turn our eyes towards you, and happy shall we be to know that you enjoy peace and contentment.

"Given at the Imperial Palace, May 4.

"I, THE KING."

Charles having thus yielded his right to the throne of Spain, in favour of Buonaparté, and having endeavoured to procure from the Spaniards, a quiet and peaceful reception of that transfer, the resistance and refusal of Ferdinand was no longer of any avail. The day, therefore, after his interview with his Royal Parents, in the presence of the French Emperor, he conveyed his resignation of the crown of Spain to his Royal Father, in the following affectionate and respectful address :

*Bayonne, May 6.*

"Honoured Father and Lord.—In order to give you a proof of my love and obedience, and in fulfilment of your desire, I resign my crown in favour of your Majesty, wishing you may enjoy it many years. I recommend to your Majesty the persons who have served me since the 19th of March. I rely on your assurances in this respect. I pray to God to preserve you many happy days. I throw myself at the feet of your Royal Majesty, the humblest of your sons.

"FERDINAND."

*Bayonne, May 6.*

"In virtue of the abdication which I make to my well-beloved father, I recall the full powers which I had entrusted to the Supreme Council before my departure from Madrid, for the execution of such weighty and important matters as might happen during my absence. The Council shall pay regard to the orders and commands of my father and sovereign, and put them in execution throughout the kingdom.

"I must finally express my gratitude to the members of the Council, to the public functionaries, and to the whole nation, for the attachment which they have testified for me. I further direct them to unite themselves with heart and hand to King Charles, and the Emperor Napoleon, whose power and friendship can do more than all other things to secure the chief prosperity of Spain, with the independence and integrity of her territory. I exhort you not to fall into the snares of our eternal enemies, to live united among yourselves and with our allies, to spare blood, and to avoid the mischiefs, which would be the consequence of the present circumstances, if men gave themselves to the spirit of madness and disunion.

"FERDINAND."

The more formal resignation of Ferdinand, was executed at Bayonne, on the 10th of May; the preamble of which differs much from that prefixed to the resignation of Charles, and simply states, that the Emperor of the French and the Prince of Asturias, having differences to regulate, have appointed their respective plenipotentiaries. By the articles of this act, it is stipulated that the Prince of Asturias shall renounce that right to the crown of Spain and the Indies, which, in that character, he possesses; that the Emperor secures to him the title of Royal Highness, and will cede to him the

domain of Navarre, and grant him an annual sum of 400,000 livres of *appanage* rent, and a further rent of 600,000 livres. The title of Royal Highness, the enjoyment of their respective commandaries in Spain, and an *appanage* rent of 400,000 livres, are likewise granted to Don Antonio, the Uncle of Ferdinand, and Don Carlos and Don Francisco, his brothers, provided they accede to the treaty.



## CHAPTER XII.

*Affairs of Spain continued.—Buonaparté's Decree for assembling the Spanish Deputies.—His Address to the Spanish Nation.—Murat demands the Sword of Francis the First.—His Influence over the Junta.—Ferdinand's Orders to the latter intercepted.—Insurrection at Madrid.—Murat appointed President of the Junta.—His Address, and that of the Inquisition, on the Insurrection of Madrid—Joseph Napoleon arrives at Bayonne, and is there proclaimed King of Spain—Receives various Addresses in that Character from the Deputation of Grandees, the Grand General Junta, the Deputies of the Council of the Inquisition, &c.*

AS soon as Ferdinand had ratified the treaty, which had been imposed upon him, and by which he was made to renounce the Crown of Spain in favour of Buonaparté, he was removed from Bayonne into the interior of France. On his arrival at Bourdeaux, in order to complete his entire subserviency to the will and views of the Emperor of the French, he, and the Infantas Don Carlos and Don Antonio, were commanded to address a solemn proclamation to the Spaniards, setting forth, in the most favourable light, their conduct, and the measures they had been compelled to adopt. After expressing their grateful sense for the love and constant fidelity of the Spanish nation towards them, they declare it is with the most poignant grief that they now see them plunged in the greatest confusion, and threatened with the most direful calamities, arising from the ignorance they are in

of the causes which have induced their Royal Highnesses to pursue those plans best calculated to promote the happiness of their country. It is their wish to undeceive those who have been thus mistaken, in order that the execution of such plans may experience no impediment on the part of their faithful subjects.

Surrounded as the Prince was on the abdication of the King his Father, by a great number of French troops, and when more than 60,000 men of that nation were garrisoned in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, they, to avoid the evils with which they were thus threatened, sought to embrace, as the best means to escape them, a journey to Bayonne.

Here, unexpected by the Prince, then King found that his Royal Parent had protested against his former abdication which, through filial respect, he had listened to, and restored to him the crown. No sooner, however, was it resigned by him, than his Royal Parent transferred it, in his own name, and that of his whole race, to the Emperor of the French, in order that, for the welfare of the nation, he should elect the person and dynasty who are henceforth to occupy it.

In this state of things, added to the critical circumstances of Spain, their Royal Highnesses considered any resistance, on the part of their worthy subjects, to the transfer which had been made of the Sovereignty of their kingdom, would not only prove unavailing, but would likewise cause rivers of blood to flow, and the loss, at least, of the major part of their provinces, and all their *ultra marine* possessions; while, on the other hand, the indepen-



dence and integrity of the Spanish Monarchy, without any dismemberment, together with the sacred preservation of the Catholic religion, property, laws, and usages, as heretofore, was solemnly and rigorously to be maintained by the Emperor of the French. Their Royal Highnesses believe they give the greatest proof of their generosity and zeal, in return for the affection they have experienced, by sacrificing their personal interests to the welfare and prosperity of their country, adhering, as they have done, by a particular agreement, to the cession of their rights to the throne. They, therefore, now absolve the Spanish nation from their former dutiful allegiance to themselves, and earnestly exhort them to consult their tranquility and happiness, by evincing their readiness to conform themselves as peaceful and obedient subjects to the Emperor Napoleon, by which they will afford to their Royal Highnesses the greatest testimony of their loyalty, love, and affection; in as much as their Royal Highnesses have yielded their own rights and interest to render them happy.

The next step taken by Buonaparté was to issue an Imperial Decree, addressed to the Council of Castile; and also a proclamation to the Spaniards to the following effect:

#### DECREE.

NAPOLÉON, EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH, KING OF ITALY,  
PROTECTOR OF THE CONFEDERACY OF THE RHINE, &c.

“The King and the Princes of the House of Spain having ceded their rights to the crown, as is known by their treaties of the 5th and 10th of May, and by their proclamations published by the Junta and the Council of Castile we have decreed, and do decree, ordered, and do order, as follows:—

Art. I. The assembly of the notables, which has already been convened by the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, shall be held

on the 15th of June at Bayonne. The deputies shall be charged with the sentiments, desires, and complaints of those they represent; and also with full power to fix the basis of the new government for the kingdom.

II. Our cousin the Grand Duke of Berg, shall continue to fulfil the functions of lieutenant general of the kingdom.

III. The ministers, the Council of State, the Council of Castile, and all civil, ecclesiastical, and military authorities are, as far as is requisite, confirmed. Justice shall be administered under the same forms, and in the same manner as usual.

“The Council of Castile is charged with the publication of this decree, and with the affixing it on all places where it may be necessary, that no one may pretend ignorance of the same.

“Given in our imperial and royal palace at

Bayonne, the 25th of May 1808.

(Signed)

“NAPOLÉON.”

## PROCLAMATION.

### TO THE SPANIARDS.

“SPANIARDS!

“After a long, lingering disease, your nation sunk into decay; I have seen your sufferings; I will relieve them. Your greatness makes a part of mine. Your Princes have ceded to me all their rights to the Spanish crown. I will not reign over your provinces, but I will acquire an eternal right to the love and gratitude of your posterity. Your monarchy is old; it must be renovated, that you may enjoy the blessings of a renovation which shall not be purchased by civil war or desolation.

“*Spaniards!* I have convened a general assembly of the deputies of your provinces and towns, that I may know your desires and wants. I shall lay down my rights, and place your illustrious crown upon the head of one who resembles me; securing you a constitution which will unite the salutary power of the Sovereign with the liberties and rights of the Spanish nation.—It is my will that my memory shall be blessed by your latest posterity, and that they shall say—he was the restorer of our country.

Bayonne, May 25.

“NAPOLÉON.”

While these transactions were taking place at Bayonne, Murat was actively employed at Madrid. The task assigned him was no less difficult, than that which had been performed by his master. His business was to suppress and counteract any appearance of disapprobation or disturbance, that might interfere with the organization of the new

dynasty then about to be formed, and which now began to assume a very disagreeable and reproachful appearance in the eyes of the Spanish nation. So far as violence or force were necessary to teach them subjection to their new rulers, Murat was well qualified for the distinguished office he held, and for the exercise of the power with which he was invested. Within a few days after his entrance into Madrid he demanded, that the sword which was surrendered by Francis the First, at the famous battle of Pavia, in the reign of Charles the Vth. should be delivered to the Emperor of the French this sword had ever been regarded by the Spanish nation as a meritorious and highly honorable trophy of their courage and victories over the French, and was carefully preserved as a memorial of the bravery of their ancestors, in the Royal Armoury. It has ever been the aim of Buonaparté to enrich the public archives of his Empire by whatever may have given lustre to the former conquests made by the enemies of France, in which, while he flatters the pride of that nation, he, at the same time, hoards up no small share of renown in behalf of his own exploits. Thus he humbles the pride of others at a moment when he is most assiduously busied in collecting every material he can, to add to the future monument of his own fame.

The above sword was accordingly conveyed to the apartments of the Duke of Berg with the greatest ceremony and pomp, that the people of Madrid might not be insensible of the high value set upon it by Buonaparté, as well, perhaps, as to mortify their vanity in being thus so submissively obliged to yield it up.

The inhabitants of Madrid were also made subject to a requisition to provide the French troops with great coats, in order, as it has been thought, to discipline the Spaniards early into habits of obedience, and to prepare them for the more serious contributions, that the French army may in future require at their hands.

From the ascendancy which Murat possessed over the councils of the Junta, by means of the power lodged in his hands, many of the objects of Ferdinand were wholly defeated. While Ferdinand was at Bayonne, it was deemed advisable to cut off his communications with the Junta, and which was often effected by intercepting his dispatches; and when this could not be done, Murat was obliged to oppose the positive commands of his Master to the instructions of Ferdinand. The Junta, under these circumstances, were frequently at a loss to know how they should act, or what directions they should give, in the administration of the public affairs committed to their hands. Although informed of the arrest of their Sovereign at Bayonne, and the indignities and oppressions to which he was subjected, and surrounded as they were at Madrid by the bayonets of their enemies, it does not appear that they made any attempt to form another Junta in a place where their deliberations might have been free and secure from any interruption. They did not even acknowledge the receipt of the letter, announcing the situation of the King at Bayonne, in consequence of which a royal order was transmitted to them, authorizing and requiring that they should execute whatever they might consider necessary for the welfare of the Monarch or the interests of his

kingdom. This order the Junta received, and, notwithstanding its contents was so explicit, and the powers it conferred so ample, as to embrace every possible emergency that might occur, they still hesitated to act with firmness or decision; they addressed a letter to the King at Bayonne, still requesting to know whether they were authorized to appoint a council in a secure situation, and who were to compose this council? Whether hostilities should commence against the French? Whether the entrance of more French troops into Spain should be prevented and opposed? And whether his Majesty thought fit to assemble the *Cortes*? In reply to these enquiries, Ferdinand repeated his instructions, that they should adopt such measures as were essential to the welfare of the kingdom, and to commence hostilities the moment they should learn of his being forced from Bayonne towards the interior of France, in which event they were commanded to oppose the introduction of more troops into Spain, and, at the same time, to assemble a *Cortes*, who were to occupy themselves, expressly, in making the necessary arrangements of levies and subsidies for the protection and security of the kingdom. These orders were delivered into the hands of one of the members of the Junta, but he never laid them before the Council; and which, had they been presented to them, would have been attended with no good effect in serving the cause of their sovereign, as a few days before they reached the Junta, the Grand Duke of Berg had procured his election as its chief head. This extraordinary measure at once proclaimed their humiliation and disgrace, as well as the successful arts of Murat, who

had grounded his pretensions to the dignified office of their President, in consequence of the disturbances of the 2d of May.

It is difficult to trace the cause which gave rise to the above disturbance, or to ascertain, through any correct medium, the number of persons who lost their lives in consequence of it. The inhabitants of Madrid had, for a considerable time, been in a state of agitation and alarm, and which was much increased by the departure of the Royal Family for France. Nor was Murat, or his army, very anxious to allay the growing discontent they everywhere discovered, by any of the soothing means of friendship. On the contrary, they hailed as a favourable symptom, the irritation their presence had occasioned to the feelings of the people of Madrid, who, when they understood the full extent to which Buonaparté had carried his plans, with regard to Ferdinand, began to mould themselves into a position of formidable hatred and resistance.

It was also believed that Murat intended to seize the person of Don Antonio, who had been appointed Regent in the absence of his nephew, in order to take the Regency upon himself. For this purpose Murat ordered a body of troops, which he had but a few days before withdrawn from Madrid, again to enter the capital, when the inhabitants, greatly alarmed and incensed at the object for which they had returned, collected in immense numbers to oppose them. They took possession of the entrances of some of the principal streets, attacked the French with great resolution and vigor, drove them before them, and took possession of their cannon. With these they succeeded in forcing their enemies out of



the city with great slaughter. Independant of the regular attack which they had formed, wherever a French soldier was discovered, he was instantly cut in pieces or shot. The great street of Alcala, the Sungate, and the Great Square, were the chief scenes of action and slaughter; and which, on the more successful return of the French, were transformed into a still more bloody spectacle, by the subsequent massacre of the inhabitants. As soon as the French sounded the alarm, and repaired to their posts; the inhabitants of the capital quickly found themselves overpowered by their discipline. The object to which the former mostly directed their attention, and against which the most dreadful effect was produced, by the discharge of 30 rounds of artillery, was the street of Alcala, where not less than 10,000 people were, at that time, collected. This carnage was increased by the cavalry, who gave no quarter.

The people, every where routed and dismayed, fled to the houses for refuge and shelter, where they were unfortunately followed by the enraged soldiers, and put to death by the bayonet. Another body of the people pushed towards the arsenal, in which was deposited 28 pieces of cannon, and 10,000 muskets, but they were intercepted and driven back by the brigade of General Lenfeane. The numbers slain on the side of the people must have been very great; nor could the French have escaped without a very considerable loss.

This massacre; which should have influenced the Junta to adopt the measures recommended by the King, of transferring the Great Council of the nation to men who could deliberate and act freely,

produced the direct opposite effect, and it completely bent them to the will of Murat, who was present at their sittings, and with whom they co-operated in sentiments, that French coercion was necessary to keep the populace of Madrid under due subjection to the civil and military powers of the government.

As soon as Murat had fully gained the confidence of his colleagues and the Junta, he issued, in their name, the following Proclamation to the soldiers and inhabitants of Madrid:

PROCLAMATION.

“SOLDIERS,

“On the 2d of May you were compelled to draw your swords, and repress force by force; you have behaved well—I am satisfied with you, and have transmitted an account of your conduct to the Emperor.—Three soldiers allowed themselves to be disarmed; they are declared unworthy so serve in the French army.—All have now returned to order—tranquillity is restored—the criminals are punished—the misled have seen their error—a veil shall cover the past, and confidence must be restored.—Soldiers, resume your former friendly relations with the inhabitants—the conduct of the Spanish troops merits praise.—The harmony and good understanding which subsists between the two armies must be more and more confirmed.

“INHABITANTS OF MADRID:

“Inhabitants of Spain, be tranquil; remove from your minds all that anxiety which the evil-disposed wish to excite; return to your wonted occupations—and see in the soldiers of the Great Napoleon, the Protector of Spain, only friendly troops—only faithful allies. The inhabitants of all classes, of all ranks, may as usual wear their cloaks; they shall no longer be detained or disturbed.

“*Madrid, May 6.*

“JOACHIM.”

“The Emperor has ordered that the names of the three soldiers mentioned in the above proclamation, shall be inserted in the orders of the day of the army. They shall, during a month, appear at the parade with a stick instead of a sword. His Majesty has imposed only this slight punishment, because these soldiers are youths, and he is persuaded that they will take the first opportunity of retrieving their character. Had they been old soldiers, they should have been dismissed from the army; for a French soldier who allows himself to be disarmed, has lost that which is most essential to a soldier—his honour.”

Nor was the Junta the only power which Murat had brought over to favour the designs of his Imperial master. The council of the Supreme and General Inquisition, who still retained an extensive influence over the whole kingdom (notwithstanding the dread and horror it formerly excited, was considerably diminished) had been called upon to exert their authority in tranquilizing the minds of the Spanish people, and preparing them peacefully to submit to the government of their new master. They charge the inhabitants of the metropolis of having occasioned, by their violence to the unoffending officers and soldiers of France, the massacres of the 2d of May. It is probable (they say), that these disorders may have arisen from a mistaken attachment to their sovereign. They therefore think it their duty to inform the misguided people, that such proceedings only tend to destroy the principle of subordination, so essential to the welfare of every government; and that none, surely, can be better qualified than the ministers of the religion of Jesus Christ, to exhort them to a proper sense of obedience and subjection to the authority of their rulers. As they have ever set an example worthy of the ministers of peace, they trust their efforts to restore the public tranquillity, will be cordially assisted by all the subordinate members of the holy college, and express a hope, that nothing may be wanting, on their part, towards the attainment of so important an object.

Charles also took a feeble share in trying to repress the turbulent spirit manifested by his subjects, in the opposition they made to their invaders, and oppressors. He cautions them against being lead

by those factious principles towards the French, to which he attributes, not only the calamities that have attended his own family, but also the subsequent disturbances that took place in the capital. He assures them that his sole object at Bayonne, is to concert such measures with his ally, the Emperor of the French, as may best conduce to their interest and welfare. The enemies to their peace and happiness ought to be guarded against. These were easily to be distinguished by their invectives against the French. It was, therefore, necessary to view all such as the enemies of Spain, and as the agents of England, who were looking forward to the possession of the Spanish colonies, by fomenting a division in the mother country, and exciting them against their natural ally the Emperor of the French. He concludes by calling on the Spaniards to trust to his experience, and to obey that authority which he holds from God, and his fathers, and to follow his example, in committing the safety of their country to the friendship of their ally.

To give a more substantial and solid effect to the changes which had thus taken place in favour of Napoleon, the Grandees of Spain, with the various constituted authorities, were invited to assemble at Bayonne, and the Assembly of Notables were summoned to meet there on the 15th of June, on which day the New Constitution for Spain was to be prepared. In the meanwhile the Emperor of the French had sent for his brother Joseph, King of Naples, who arrived on the 7th at Pau. As soon as the Emperor was informed of it, he repaired from the castle of Marrac to meet his serene Brother. His Majesty met the

King two miles from Bayonne, and brought him in his carriage to Marrac, where he passed the evening. Her Majesty the Empress, attended by her ladies in waiting, met the King on the steps of the palace. Immediately afterwards addresses were presented to his Majesty as the acknowledged Sovereign of Spain, from the Grandees, the deputation of the grand General Junta, the deputies of the Council of the Inquisition, and other public bodies. The Duke de l'Infantado, who had the honour first to be presented, as president of the deputation of Grandees, to King Joseph Napoleon, by his Excellency M. Azarza, Minister of Finance for the kingdom of Spain, made the following speech :

“ SIRE,

“ We feel the most lively joy in presenting ourselves before your Majesty. The presence of your Majesty is necessary to the re-establishment of our country. The Grandees of Spain have at all times distinguished themselves by their fidelity to their sovereigns. Your Majesty shall meet with the same integrity and the same fidelity towards your person. May your Majesty be pleased to accept our homage with the same benignity of which you have given so many testimonies to your subjects of the kingdom of Naples.”

To this his Majesty answered:—

“ That he should devote himself altogether to the government of Spain; that all his endeavours should be employed to bring order into the finances, and re-organize the naval and military force; that Spain might rely upon the preservation of her rights; that he would rule only by virtue of the laws; and finally, that the Grandees of the Spain might be assured of his especial protection.”

Messieurs Urquijo and Cevallos were then admitted to an audience with his Majesty, who conferred with them a considerable time concerning the affairs of the kingdom.

The deputation of the Council of Castile was

afterwards introduced, and made the following speech:—

“SIRE,

“The Council of Castile, the first of the supreme courts of justice of the Spanish nation, having at their head Don Manuel de Lardizabal, Don Joseph Colon, the eldest of the deputation, has the honour to offer its homage to your Majesty, and to testify its special joy at the happy and wished-for accession to the throne of Spain of the serene brother of the great Napoleon, whose fame has eclipsed the glory of antiquity. Your Majesty has merited his choice, and your serene person unites the sublime qualities which support and strengthen thrones.

“Your Majesty constitutes a part of the family destined by Providence to govern. The fame of your deeds has stretched itself over the Pyrennees, and spread over all Spain.

“Noble Spaniards! indulge in hope. The catholic worship shall not suffer the least wrong. It shall retain all its purity, and be the sole religion in the country. The laws, the lawful customs, the courts of justice, the clergy, the national colleges, shall be maintained and ameliorated for the benefit of the church and state. The various orders of the kingdom, the necessary supports of every true monarchy, shall continue in the enjoyment of their prerogatives. The poor shall be relieved. The integrity of Spain, and the property of every one, shall be inviolably respected.

“These are the services which we expect from the known beneficence of your Majesty. Such are the wishes which the Council of Castile, under the present circumstances, forms. Heaven grant that these wishes may be fulfilled, and that your Majesty may be the happiest Monarch in the whole world.”

His Majesty discoursed a considerable time with this deputation, concerning the various establishments of the kingdom. He remarked a great resemblance between the laws of Spain, and those of the kingdom of Naples.

The deputations of the Council of the Inquisition, of the Indies, and Finances, were presented to the King of Spain.

His Majesty said to the deputies of the Inquisition, that “he considered the worship of God as the basis of all morality, and of general prosperity; *that other countries allowed of different forms of religion,*



*but that he considered it as the felicity of Spain that she had but one, and that the true one."*

His Majesty answered the Council of the Indies, that "he should not consider America as a colony, but as an integral part of Spain, and that its welfare would be as dear to him, as that of the European states.

His Majesty answered the council of Finance, that "he well knew that he had much to effect in this branch; that the pay of the soldiers and sailors were several months in arrears, but that he hoped, with the help of his faithful Spaniards, that he should be able to provide a remedy for the evil."

The deputation of the Military Force of Spain, with the Duke del Parque at its head, then addressed the King, who answered that he had confidence in the fidelity and attachment of the Spanish soldiery.—"I consider it (he added) an honour to be the first soldier of the army, and were it necessary, as in ancient times, in your conflicts with the Moors, you should see me at your head, in every danger, advance to repel the unjust attacks of the eternal enemies of the continent. You may assure all who have served the state under my predecessor, that they shall enjoy their pay, pensions, titles, and emoluments; and that I pledge my honour to reward ancient services, as if they had been performed under my own government."

After this audience his Majesty, at ten in the evening, repaired to his apartments, and supped with their Majesties the Emperor and Empréss."

The inhabitants of the city of Madrid had also, in their address to the Grand Duke of Berg, testified their approbation in the most flattering terms.

in favour of their new Monarch, and earnestly requested to unite their homage to that of the Supreme Junta of the government, and of the Council, in order to convince his Imperial and Royal Majesty of their loyal obedience and submission.

Having thus prepared the way for the succession of his Royal Brother, to the Crown of Spain, Buonaparté issued the following mandate :

NAPOLÉON, by the grace of God, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederacy of the Rhine, to all men to whom these presents shall come, sends greeting :—

“The Junta of the State, the council of Castile, the city of Madrid, &c. &c. having notified to us by their addresses, that the well-being of Spain requires a speedy stop to be put to the provisional government ; we have resolved to proclaim, and we do by these presents proclaim our well-beloved brother Joseph Napoleon, the present King of Naples and Sicily, to be King of Spain and India.

“We guarantee to the King of Spain the independence and integrity of his states in Europe, as well as in Africa, Asia, and America ; charging the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, the ministers, and the Council of Castile, to cause this proclamation to be expedited, and publicly announced, according to the usual custom, that none may plead ignorance thereof.

“Given at our Imperial Palace at Bayonne, June 6, 1808.

(Signed)

“NAPOLÉON.

“H. B. MARET,

“Minister of State.”

To reconcile the Spanish nation to their new sovereign, every possible pains were taken to impress them with the moderate views of Buonaparte. They were strongly urged by the General Junta, quietly and patiently to submit to the *new order of things*, and which they represented as most happily calculated to reform the ancient abuses of the old monarchy, as well as enlarge their future privileges and enjoyments.

With what admiration (they say) must we see the benevolence and humanity of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, outstrip our wishes. Qualities,

which are more to be admired than his great power. He has desired nothing else than that we should be indebted to him for our welfare. By given us a sovereign to reign over us in the person of his magnanimous brother Joseph, he will consummate our prosperity. Since he has been pleased to change our former system of laws, it becomes us to obey, and live in tranquility. He has promised to re-organize our financial system; we may, therefore, hope our naval and military power will henceforth become terrible to our enemies. National credit will be maintained, and the chains, which so long have fettered our commerce, will be broken, and our agricultural resources will receive similar improvements. Your religion he has most solemnly guaranteed, in the same way as your forefathers have for ages enjoyed it. And what in return does the Great Emperor require from you, and from the whole nation, for such important blessings? that you remain peaceable, and watch over the interests of your households and your families; that you do not give yourselves up to that madness which is inseparable from rebellion and insurrection. Spaniards! think upon yourselves, your wives, and your children. What can you expect from rebellion and anarchy? Think on the benefits you now enjoy, and are likely to enjoy—with the redress of every thing of which you have had cause to complain? Can any thing, then, induce you to resist the powers which reign over you, or to abjure the wholesome safeguard of the laws. Let us recollect the ties that binds us together as one people; that we have always fought under the same standard. Consider how dreadful is civil war! For this century past Spain has enjoyed tranquility.

Why change the scene, and turn away from our fraternal advice? No man doubts Spanish bravery. You can do wonders. But without system, and without leaders, your efforts would be in vain. The most numerous bands of undisciplined men, are driven before a regular army, like chaff before the wind.

We have been placed in a most critical situation, but we now present you with a new and well-organized government, which secures the liberty, the rights, and the property of every individual. This was to be expected of the invincible Napoleon, who has been occupied in matters that relate to our happiness, and who has shewn himself anxious to deserve well of our country, by becoming her protector.

An address, equally ardent and submissive, appeared at the same time from the Supreme Junta of the government, the object of which was to display, if possible, in more glowing colours than the former, the danger in which the nation might be plunged by yielding themselves up to revolt and anarchy, as well as the advantages that could not fail to result from their recent political regeneration. It states, that "at the very moment when Spain, a country so greatly favoured by nature, but impoverished, exhausted, and debased, before the eyes of all Europe, by the *defects* and *misrule* of its own government, had arrived at the point of a complete annihilation, when the very exertions necessary to revive her exhausted strength, would only have tended to increase her sufferings, and to plunge her into fresh calamities, when, in fine, all hope was extinguished, providence granted the

means, not only of rescuing the country from certain ruin, but also of raising her to a height of happiness and splendour, which she never yet attained, even in the most glorious periods of her history.

“By one of those political revolutions, which astonish only those who disregard the events by which they have been prepared, the House of Bourbon, after having lost the other thrones which it possessed in Europe, resigned that of Spain, the only one on which it retained a seat. After having brought the nation to the brink of ruin, deprived of the support hitherto granted by the remaining branches of their family, and unable to preserve the countries which united them with France, the Bourbons found it impossible to keep a seat, which all the changes that have occurred in the system of politics, compelled them to quit. The most powerful prince in Europe has accepted the resignation of the Bourbons; not to incorporate your territory, in his already extensive dominions, but to establish the Spanish monarchy, on renovated principles, subservient to his irresistible power, to the end that he may introduce all the salutary reforms which have been so long and vainly hoped for. For this purpose he has summoned around his serene person the deputies of the towns and provinces, and municipal corporations of the state, in order to consult on the fundamental laws which may serve to secure the supreme power and allegiance of the subjects. He will place the crown on the head of a noble-minded prince, who, by the gentleness of his disposition, will succeed in winning all hearts. In this dawn of felicity, is it possible that there should be found persons unable to appreciate the

lofty destiny which awaits their country, and who, unworthy of the honoured name of true Spaniards, are labouring to mislead you, and abandon you to all the horrors of a civil war, at the very moment when the Hero, who must be the object of your daily blessings, and the admiration of future ages, is so engaged in promoting the happiness of Spain. Brave Spaniards, will you suffer yourselves to be deceived, and to be made the victims of those who wish to stir you up to sedition and rebellion. What end do the inciters of disorder and desolation promise to themselves? Is it the restoration of your ancient princes? They are beyond the frontiers of Spain, and your powerless efforts can render them no service. If, on the other hand, all of you be animated by the desire to act well, you are about to become happy; but if you neglect the salutary counsel which the Junta of the Government gives you, then fear the just resentment of a monarch, who is as severe in avenging a useless and blind obstinacy, as he is generous and quick to forgive a sudden burst of error."





## CHAPTER XIII.

*Proceedings of the Spanish Insurgents.—Their Attachment to Ferdinand.—Establishment of a Supreme and Provincial Juntas.—Precautions to be observed throughout the different Provinces of Spain.—Answer returned to the Council of Government by the most illustrious Bishop of Orense, Don Pedro Queredoy Quintano.—Address of Palafox to the Arragonese.—Conduct of Buonaparté towards the Papal States.—The Pope's Declaration and Remonstrance against the Conduct of the French Emperor.*

THE spirit which had broke out in the several provinces of Spain, in opposition to the views of the French Emperor, now began to assume a more serious aspect. Scarcely were the Northern States apprised of the New Dynasty which had been imposed upon them, than they burst forth into an open and well-organized insurrection. Asturias and Galicia set the example which was soon after followed by almost every part of Spain not intimidated by the presence of a French army.

One of the first steps taken by the leaders of the revolution, was to form and assemble the Juntas, or general assemblies of the provinces, of which the chief, or central one, was established at Seville, a very considerable city, and capital of Andalusia. Here the deputies assembled on the 27th of May, and constituted themselves into a Supreme Junta of the Government.

The following were the measures which they adopted.—

“ They proclaimed Ferdinand VII. King of Spain and the Indies, with the accustomed formalities. They took possession of the artillery, muskets, and powder, in the Royal Mastranza of Artillery, and distributed them for purposes of defence. They ordered all persons, from 16 to 45, who had not children, to enrol themselves, and after completing the regiments deficient in their proper numbers, they distributed the remainder in new corps. They sent couriers to all the principal towns in the South of Spain, to invite them to follow the example of Seville. They ordered subordinate juntas to be established in all towns having 2,000 householders, to correspond with and act under the Supreme Junta. All these measures were carried into effect with the greatest promptness and alacrity.”

Ferdinand was also proclaimed King in the presence of the Bishop and Nobility at Murcia, at Carthagena, and in all the towns on the coast of Granada, and also at Cadiz, on the 31st. As Madrid was in the possession of the French, it became necessary that some principal city should take the lead in issuing directions respecting the great and arduous contest in which the Spanish nation was about to be engaged. No place seemed more suitable for this purpose than Seville. Inferior juntas were also established in every town within their jurisdiction, the population of which reached 2,000 householders.

In order to concentrate the efforts of the Spaniards as much as possible, and to direct them more successfully against the invaders of their country, the Junta of Seville issued the following

#### PRECAUTIONS,

WHICH IT WILL BE PROPER TO OBSERVE THROUGHOUT THE  
 “ DIFFERENT PROVINCES OF SPAIN, IN THE NECESSITY TO  
 WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN DRIVEN BY THE FRENCH, OF RE-  
 SISTING THE UNJUST AND VIOLENT POSSESSION WHICH  
 THEIR ARMIES ARE ENDEAVOURING TO TAKE OF THE  
 KINGDOM.

WE cannot doubt a moment of the exertions which the united provinces of Spain would make to obstruct and defeat the malicious designs of the French, and that they will sacrifice even their lives on this occasion, the most important, and even unparalleled in the history of the nation, both in the thing itself, and in the horrible

means of ingratitude and perfidy by which the French have undertaken, pursued, and are still endeavouring to effect our slavery:—

1. Let the first object be to avoid all general actions, and to convince ourselves of the very great hazards, without any advantage, or even the hope of it, to which they would expose us. The reasons of this resolution are many, and such as any one will discover who has the use of his understanding.

2. A war of partizans is the system which suits us; the embarrassing and wasting the enemy's armies by want of provisions, destroying bridges, throwing up entrenchments in proper situations, and other similar means. The situation of Spain, its many mountains, and the passes which they present, its rivers and torrents, and even the collocation of its provinces, invite us to carry on this species of warfare successfully.

3. It is indispensable that each province should have its general, of known talents, and of such experience as our situation permits, that his heroic loyalty should inspire the utmost confidence, and that every general should have under his command officers of merit, particularly of artillery and engineers.

4. As a combined union of plans is the soul of every well-concerted enterprize, and that which alone can promise and facilitate a successful issue, it appears indispensable that there should be three generalissimos, who should act in concert with each other—one who should command in the four kingdoms of Andalusia, in Mercia, and Lower Estramadura—another in Valencia, Arragon, and Catalonia; a person of the greatest credit being appointed to Navarre, the Biscayan provinces, Montanau, Asturias, Rioja, and the North of Old Castile, for the purpose which will be mentioned here after.

5. Each of these generals and generalissimos will form an army of veterans, troops and peasantry united, and put himself in a situation to undertake enterprizes, and to succour the most exposed points, keeping up always a frequent communication with the other generalissimos, in order that all may act by common accord, and assist one another.

6. Madrid and La Mancha require an especial general, to concert and execute the enterprizes which their particular and local situation demands—his only object must be to embarrass the enemy's armies, to take away or cut off their provisions, to attack them in flank and rear, and not to leave them a moment of repose. The courage of these inhabitants is well known, and they will eagerly embrace such enterprizes if they are led as they should be. In the Succession war, the enemy entered twice into the interior of the kingdom, and even as far as its capital, and this was the cause of their defeat, their entire ruin, and their utter failure of success.

6. The generalissimo of the North and East will block up the entrances to the provinces under their command, and come to the assistance of any one that may be attacked by the enemy, to prevent as much as possible all pillage, and preserve its inhabitants from

the desolation of war; the many mountains and defiles which are on the confines of these provinces being favourable to such projects.

8 The destination of the General of Navarre, Biscay, and the rest of this department, is the most important of all, in which he will be assisted by the generals of the North and East, with the troops and other succours which he stands in need of. His whole business must be to shut the entrance of Spain against fresh French troops, and to harrass and destroy those that return from Spain to France by this point. The very rugged local situation of these provinces will be of singular advantage in such a design, and these enterprizes, if well concerted, and carried into execution, will, no doubt, be successful; and the same may be understood of the different points by which the French troops, which are in Portugal, may come into Spain, or by which French troops may enter through Rousillon into Catalonia, for there is not much to be apprehended for Arragon. And even from Portugal it is not thought that they will escape, on account of the proclamations which have been circulated in that kingdom, and the hatred that they bore to the French, being increased without measure, by the innumerable evils which they have been made to suffer, and the cruel oppression in which they are held by them.

9. At the same time it would be very proper that the generalissimos should publish and circulate frequent proclamations amongst the people, and rouse their courage and loyalty, shewing them that they have every thing to fear from the horrible perfidy with which the French have dealt with Spain, and even with their King Ferdinand VII.; and that if they rule over us all is lost, Kings, Monarchy, property, liberty, independance, and religion; and that therefore it is necessary to sacrifice our lives and property in defence of the King and of the country; and though our lot (which we hope will never come to pass) should destine us to become slaves, let us become so fighting and dying like gallant men; not giving up ourselves basely to the yoke like sheep, as the late infamous government would have done, and fixing upon Spain and her, slavery, eternal ignominy, and disgrace. France has never domineered over us, nor set her foot in our territory. We have many times mastered her, not by deceit, but by force of arms; we have made her Kings prisoners, and we have made the nation tremble—we are the same Spaniards, and France, and Europe, and the world shall see, that we are not less gallant; nor less brave than the most glorious of our ancestors.

10. All persons of education in the provinces should be stimulated to frame, print, and publish frequent short discourses, in order to preserve the public opinion, and the ardour of the nation; confuting at the same time the infamous diaries of Madrid, which the baseness of the late government has permitted, and still permits, to be published in Madrid itself, and has caused to be circulated abroad, detecting their falsehoods and continual contradictions; let them cover with shame the miserable authors of those diaries, and sometimes extend their remarks to those Charlatans, the French gazetteers, and even to their *Moniteur*; and let them dis-

play and publish to Spain, and to all Europe, their horrible falsehoods and venal praises, for they afford abundant matter for such a work. Let all such perverted minds tremble at Spain, and let France know, that the Spaniards have thoroughly penetrated their designs, and therefore it is that they justly detest and abominate them, and that they will sooner lay down their lives, than submit to their iniquitous and barbarous yoke.

11. Care shall be taken, to explain to the nation, and to convince them that when freed, as we trust to be, from this civil war, to which the French have forced us, and when placed in a state of tranquillity, our Lord and King Ferdinand VII. being restored to the throne, under him and by him, the Cortes will be assembled, abuses reformed, and such laws shall be enacted as the circumstances of the time and experience may dictate for the public good and happiness. Things which we Spaniards know how to do, which we have done as well as other nations, without any necessity that the vile French come to instruct us, and, according to their custom, under the mask of friendship, and wishes for our happiness, should contrive, for this alone they are contriving, to plunder us, to violate our women, to assassinate us, to deprive us of our liberty, our laws, and our King, to scoff at and destroy our holy religion, as they have hitherto done, and will always continue to do so, as long as that spirit of perfidy and ambition, which oppresses and tyrannizes over them, shall endure.

“JUAN BAPTISTO PARDO, Secretary.

“By order of the Supreme Junta.”

The Bishop of Orense, Don Pedro Quevedoy Quintano, having been appointed to be present at the meeting which was to be held at Bayonne, in order to concert measures for securing the liberty of the realm, agreeably to the wishes of Napoleon, declined accepting that appointment, in consequence of his advanced age and infirmities, which would not allow of his undertaking so long a journey. At the same time he took occasion to observe, in his letter to Don Sebastian Penuala, what he thought necessary, on his part, to submit to the Emperor and King, who intends to become, as it were, the angel of peace, and tutelar divinity of Spain. “On what principles,” he asks, “is that council to be convened at Bayonne, which is, henceforth, to settle the fate of the Spanish monarchy and nation. Is it in-



tended to cure evils, to repair losses, and to improve the happiness of the kingdom? or does there exist for that purpose any firm authority, acknowledged by the people of Spain, to the act of convening that assembly. What is the treatment which the Royal Family of Spain have met with from their mighty protector and magnanimous ally the Emperor Napoleon. We see them shut up in the French empire, in a country where the rights of the Bourbon Dynasty have been for ever proscribed. Can Spain expect to benefit by a change, which has already afforded no very favourable specimen of the goodwill, or mild conduct, of the new rulers towards her. The abdication of Charles and Ferdinand, at Bayonne, and of her Infantas at Bordeaux, can never be supposed to be free, encompassed as they were by every species of force and artifice, and deprived of the councils and assistance of their faithful subjects. Abdications which have been rendered suspicious to the whole nation. Yet on these very abdications has the Emperor and King assumed the government of the Spanish monarchy.

“ Nothing could reflect more glory on the great Emperor Napoleon, than to restore to Spain her august Monarchs and their Family; that in her bosom, and in a general assembly of the states, they may act as their free and uncontrolled will shall direct; and that the nation, with the independance and sovereignty which belong to it, may proceed in consequence thereof, to acknowledge him as their lawful King, whom nature, right, and circumstances, shall call to the Spanish throne. This magnanimous and generous proceeding would prove the greatest



eulogium of the Emperor ; it *would be greater, and more worthy of admiration, than all the victories and laurels which encircle his brow, and distinguish him among the Monarchs of the earth.* Spain would then be rescued from the calamitous fate with which she is now threatened, recover from all her infirmities, enjoy perfect health, offer up thanks to God, and pay the tribute of unfeigned gratitude to her saviour and true protector ; then would Napoleon be justly considered the friend and faithful ally of Spain.

“ For the present, Spain cannot but look upon him in a widely different light ; he appears, unless he proves the contrary, the oppressor of her princes and herself. She must consider herself only chained and enslaved, even while offers of felicity are made to her. Chained and enslaved by artifice, violence, and a numerous army, which were admitted as friends, either by imprudence and fear, or by fraud and treachery, and which are now employed to sanction an authority, which it is no easy task to esteem lawful.

“ To conclude, the nation is without a King, and at loss how to act. The abdication of its Sovereign, and the appointment of a deputy-governor of the realm, are acts done in France, and in the sight of an Emperor, who conceives that he secures the happiness of Spain, by giving her a dynasty, springing up from that *lucky family*, which fancies itself incapable of producing princes, who do not possess the same talents for governing nations, as the invincible and victorious Napoleon, the Legislator, Philosopher, the Great Emperor. The Supreme Council of Government, controled by an armed President, and surrounded by soldiers, cannot but consider itself de-

prived of liberty. All public boards and tribunals of the capital are in the same situation. Can these evils be warded off by an assembly of deputies that is convened to meet at Bayonne? On the other hand, should the tumultuous commotions which may be apprehended within the realm, be joined by foreign assistance, by succour offered, or solicited, and troops should come to fight in her bosom against the French, and the party which sides with them here, is it possible to conceive greater devastation, or a scene more calamitous than would then ensue? The compassion, love, and solicitude of the Emperor and King, evinced in her favour, so far from healing her wounds, will increase her disasters. Let it, therefore, be represented to the Great Napoleon, by the Supreme Council of Government, that, satisfied as he must be, that the prosperity of Spain cannot be secured by enslaving her; he will not then apply such means to chain her down, in order to perform her cure, because she is neither insane or mad. Let first a lawful government be established, and afterwards her cure be taken in hand."

The Junta of Seville likewise issued, in the name of Ferdinand VII. the following proclamation of peace with England and Sweden:

#### PROCLAMATION.

"THE Supreme Junta of this principality declares a general peace with England, and at the same time the closest alliance with that nation, which has, with the greatest generosity, offered all the succours and assistance that have been asked of her. They also declare peace with Sweden, and order that all our ports should be open to the vessels of both nations, and that this royal resolution be communicated to all the justices of the principality."

Various addresses from the Provincial Juntas, couched in the most energetic terms, and calling upon the Spaniards to rise in defence of their Sove-

reign and their own liberties, were now exhibited in all parts of the kingdom. Every attempt was made to remove the torpor which had so long held them in subjection to the will of the French Emperor, whose perfidious conduct towards their King and his whole Family, they declared had no precedent in history. The Emperor of France is spoke of in these, as the common foe of mankind, as a traitor to the real glory and interest of Spain, in tearing from them their amiable Ferdinand. The incense offered to his ambition, by the victims of his power, "has caused him to conceive the fantastical idea of, proclaiming himself Lord and Ruler of the whole World. There is no atrocity he does not commit to attain that end. The respectable name of the the great Emperor of Russia, the political dissimulation of the German Emperor, the timorous condescension of the Father of the Church; in short, the most sacred laws of humanity, have been trampled under foot with the utmost contempt, to pronounce the dreadful sentence of the extirpation of the House of Bourbon. Shall these outrages and iniquities remain unpunished, while Spaniards, and Castilian Spaniards, still exist. No, it cannot be.—Your minds, glowing with generous ardour for your religion and your country, have resolved to renew the heroic scenes, in which Castilian valour shone with immortal lustre, saved the country, and consolidated our religion. The stratagems which have hitherto secured victories to the tyrant, vanished, the moment Europe saw with her own eyes, the snares which have been employed to seduce the unwary, until their necks have submitted to his yoke."

The French are equally invoked to join in the patriotic cause, and to shake off their allegiance to their cruel and ambitious sovereign, who, without the least benefit to France, or any other of the European nations, had deluged with blood, and with the blood of Frenchmen, the countries he had ravaged. “Frenchmen! the Spanish nation, your ally and generous friend, invites you to withdraw from banners, which are destined to enslave all nations, and to enlist under those which are raised for the best purposes of human warfare. The Spaniards will fight by your side, to regain, with yourselves, their lost freedom and independance; and when the war shall have successfully terminated in our favour, land shall be given you, which you may cultivate, unmolested, and pass your remaining days amidst a nation, that loves and respects you, and where impartial justice shall consecrate all your future enjoyments. Of whatever nations the armies of France are composed, let them rally round our standard, to redeem themselves from that oppression which their despotic ruler has fastened upon them. Can they any longer fight for him, who has dragged them from their homes, and despoiled them of every rational and domestic comfort. Or will they take up arms against the brave and generous Spaniards, who, in the zenith of their more prosperous dominion, respected their rights, because they looked upon all men as their brethren.”

But one of the most spirited manifestos which the exigencies of these times gave birth to, was that which was issued by Palafox, a name highly celebrated in the annals of the Spanish revolution, the Captain General and Governor of the province

of Arragon, in which it is stated that "Providence has preserved in Arragon an immense quantity of muskets, ammunition, and artillery, which have not treacherously been sold, or delivered to the enemies of our repose." It then proceeds, "Fear not, Arragonians, let us defend the most just of causes, and we shall be found invincible. The enemy's troops, now in Spain, are not able to oppose our efforts. Woe betide them, should they dare to repeat, in any other Spanish town, what they did in Madrid on the 2d of May, sacrificing its inhabitants without pity, and branding them as assassins from whom they had received honours and favours, which they did not deserve." It concludes by declaring that "the French Emperor, and all the individuals of his Family, and every French general officer, shall be personally responsible for the safety of the King, and of his Brother and Uncle. That in case any violence should be attempted against the lives of their Sovereign and his Family, in order to deprive Spain of their lawful King, the nation will then make use of their elective rights in favour of the Archduke Charles (of Austria) as nephew to Charles III. And should the French army at Madrid, or in any other town of Spain, commit any robberies, devastations, or murders, they will be considered guilty of high-treason, and no quarter shall be given them. All transactions which have taken place are to be considered as illegal and void, having been extorted by violence; and that whatever may hereafter be done at Bayonne, shall be deemed null and of no effect; and all who take any part in them, denounced traitors to their country. All other provinces of the Kingdom of Spain,

not yet occupied by the troops of the enemy, are invited to meet, by deputies, at Terruel, or any other suitable place, to nominate a Lieutenant-General, whose order shall be obeyed by the respective chiefs of the different provinces.

The insurrection in Spain was hailed as a favourable omen in England. The British nation, through this means, was in hopes to reduce the increasing power of Buonaparté, and to wrest, at least, one portion of the continent from the mighty grasp of the conqueror. The Junta of Asturia dispatched two noblemen to England, to concert such measures with the British government, as might best tend to render the operation of the patriotic provinces successful. Other deputies were also sent from the North of Spain to Britain, to apprise that government that the inhabitants were engaged in making every warlike preparation to oppose their invaders, and that their confidence in their own strength and resources was so great, as to inspire them with every hope of ultimate success. These tidings, not only animated the British Cabinet to countenance and encourage the designs of the Spanish Patriots, but united the whole of the English nation in their favour. Every assistance was promised them that men or money could furnish. The former, however, was not so much wanted, but they were in a great measure destitute of arms, ammunition, and clothing. These articles were immediately supplied in great abundance; and as the ports in the Bay of Biscay were in the possession of the Patriots, no difficulty occurred in transporting from England whatever the Juntas of Galicia and Asturia required. Some English officers were also sent to learn more accu-



rately the strength and disposition of the Spaniards, and to offer them such further assistance as they might stand in need of.

In the mean time an Order of Council was issued in the name of his Britannic Majesty, declaring his readiness to co-operate with the Patriots of Spain, in delivering their country from the dominion of Buonaparté. The blockade of all the Spanish ports, except such as were in the hands of their enemies, was also rescinded, and every facility promised to the vessels of Spain, in the event of their falling in with British cruisers. The Spanish colonies were also to be treated as the friends and allies of Britain, provided they would unite in the cause of defending their liberties, and in avenging the indignity and imprisonment of their legitimate Sovereign; till their determination on this head should be fully known, all vessels and goods belonging to persons residing in them, were to be detained by his Britannic Majesty's cruisers, and carefully preserved in safe custody. This order was followed by the instant and unsolicited release of all the Spanish prisoners in the British empire; an act that could not fail to conciliate the goodwill and gratitude of the Spanish nation towards the English.

In the midst of these transactions, the Emperor of the French committed an aggression on the Papal States, which could not fail to heighten the resentment of the Spaniards, as well as all who hold in a sacred veneration the temporal and ecclesiastical sovereignty of his Holiness. The following decree was issued by Buonaparté, in consequence of his Holiness having refused to join him in war against England :

## DECREE.

“ NAPOLEON, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, &c.

“ WHEREAS the temporal *sovereign* of Rome has refused to make war against England, and the interest of the two kingdoms, that of Italy and of Naples, demand that their communication should not be intercepted by a hostile power; and whereas the donation of Charlemagne, our illustrious predecessor, of the countries which form the Holy See, was for the good of christianity, and not for that of the enemies of our holy religion:—We therefore decree that Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camarino, be for ever united to the kingdom of Italy; to which kingdom all cardinal prelates, &c. natives of these districts, are commanded to return by the 5th of June (past), on pain of confiscation of goods, &c.”

The effect produced by this decree on his Holiness, was not altogether that of a silent submission. As soon as it had been notified to him, that the above four provinces had been taken from him, he indulged his feelings in a lengthy and spirited remonstrance, in which he strongly accuses the Emperor of France with having acted towards him with great injustice. The Holy Father had charged the Cardinal Gabrielli, pro-secretary of state, to address a frank declaration to his most illustrious Highness Signor Cavaliero Aldini, *Charge-d’-Affairs* of the kingdom of Italy.

He commences by observing, that the Holy Father had seen, with infinite pain, that the powerful Monarch of the French, in whose hands he had placed, at the altar, the sceptre and the rod of justice, proceeding, even against him, contrary to every species of right, by depriving him of the best part of the States which remained to him. That the Holy Father had beheld, with increased astonishment, the pretext on which the above spoilation had been made, namely, his refusal to make war upon England, and to confederate with the Kings of Naples

and of Italy. While it was well known that his Holiness, from the sacred character he sustains, and of the duties of the high office he filled, could not consistently engage in any permanent system of warfare, particularly against a government from which he had never received the slightest offence. He could not, therefore, without incurring universal hatred, and without betraying the duties of his conscience, place himself in a situation, by the league proposed, of becoming the enemy of every state, and even of those of a Catholic Sovereign. Yet, notwithstanding the representations and reasons he had so frequently submitted to his Majesty the Emperor of the French, with paternal mildness, on these subjects, they had not produced the least impression. Another pretext had been assigned, for to justify the spoliation that had been committed on the Holy See, in as much as it was stated, that the interests of the two kingdoms and two armies of Italy and Naples, demanded that their communication should not be interrupted by a hostile power. If by this power it means to imply England, the history of almost two centuries will shew the falsity of this specious pretence. The Catholic Princes of Spain, and of the House of Austria, from the Emperor Charles V. to Charles II. of Spain, possessed the Kingdom of Naples and Duchy of Milan, which forms, at present, the principal part of the Kingdom of Italy; and they never perceived that their interests were compromised; they never experienced this pretended obstacle to the communication of their armies. They were frequently at war with Great Britain, and still oftener with France, but they were never apprehensive of an intermediate debarkation upon

the territory of the Holy See, still less did they pretend to force the Pontiffs of that period to unite and confederate with them, or to despoil them of their possessions, should they have refused. The neutrality of the Holy Fathers, recognized and respected by all other powers, are more than sufficient to place their interests in security.

His Holiness had even carried his compliance still farther ; he had declared himself disposed to shut his ports against the English during the present war, and to employ his troops to guard the coasts of his States from every hostility whatever. But what hostility could be dreaded, while the troops of France, in direct violation of his neutrality, occupied all his ports, and covered all his coasts.

If by a hostile power, it was meant to designate the Holy Father, his character itself, mild and pacific, puts an end to this injurious imputation ; but the better to refute it, his Holiness calls to witness the French Empire, and the Kingdom of Italy, in favour of which he signed two Concordats, whose violation has been the source of perpetual grief to his heart, in having constantly, but in vain, pressed their faithful execution. He calls Europe itself to witness, which has seen him, in his old age, in the most rigorous season of the year, traverse the Alps, and proceed to Paris, *not without exciting the jealousy and distrust of other great powers, in order to consecrate and crown his Imperial Majesty.*

His Holiness's surprise is still more powerfully excited, by the remarks made by the French Emperor, on the donation of Charlemagne. It is well known that this celebrated and glorious Monarch, whose memory will be eternally blessed by the Church,

did not give to the Holy See the provinces which have been usurped. It is notorious that they were, at a very remote epoch from his age, in the possession of the Roman Pontiffs, who received them from Pepin, the illustrious and religious father of Charlemagne. So far, therefore, is his Holiness from having betrayed the interests of the Church, with which he has been accused, that, for upwards of three years, he has endured the severest persecutions in behalf of religion, and for having acted faithfully in his apostolic capacity.

The solemn oaths which the Holy Father has made to maintain his liberty and independance, so essential to the Catholic religion, and the exercise of his spiritual powers, do not allow him to subscribe to those dangerous maxims, which would render him subservient, both in temporal and spiritual matters, to the Emperor of the French. He has suffered persecution, because he would not consent that his Imperial Majesty should interfere or to nominate as *many French Cardinals* as should form one-third of the Sacred College, in order to sap its authority, and to weaken its constitutional independance. His Holiness also suffers, because he would not consent to enter into any offensive or defensive league against any power in Europe, Catholic or otherwise, to the manifold injury of religion. If this refusal implies an abandonment of religion, let heaven, the church, the world, and posterity, be the judges.

The Holy Father has the most conscientious reflection, that he never did any injury to his Majesty, or to France; but if his Majesty had any reason to be offended with the personal conduct of his Holi-

ness, it could not justify him in seizing on the property of the Church, which had been conferred on it for the good of Christianity, and which, since the peace of Constantine, had been greatly encreased by the pious gifts of many Monarchs. Nor can his Holiness reconcile his Majesty's reasons for depriving the Holy See of a part of its States, *on the ground that they were not intended to benefit the enemies of the Catholic religion*; with that code of laws, which his Majesty has published in those States, and against which his Holiness has so frequently remonstrated, as contrary to the gospel, and to the laws of the Church, particularly such as relate to marriage and divorce.

The mind of his Holiness has been overwhelmed with additional grief, on perusing another decree of the same date, which enjoins all cardinals, prelates, and officers, holding any employment at the court of Rome, who are *natives* of Italy, to return, under penalty of the confiscation of their whole property, in case of disobedience. From whence it is clear to his Holiness, that it is not his temporal authority, but also his spiritual, which is intended to be subverted; and that it is the wish of his Majesty the Emperor, to render his Holiness incapable of fulfilling his sacred duties, by dispersing his Senate, and overturning the Church establishment.

The Pope is not only the Bishop of Rome, as hath been so improperly asserted, *but he is at the same time the Head of the Catholic Church, and in that character he is entitled to choose his ministers and coadjutors from the different nations of the earth.*

Since the commencement of Christianity, the clera



gy of Rome have not been composed only of Romans, but of individuals from all nations, as is evident from the many strangers admitted amongst the clergy of Rome; and who, during the first four centuries, ascended the chair of St. Peter. All these motives justify the grief of the Holy Father, who protests against a law, which spares not even distinguished ecclesiastics, chosen to assist him in his labours for the Church of God.

His Holiness at the same time strongly protests, in the face of all the earth, against the usurpation of his States, and solemnly declares it to be unjust, vain, and of no avail. His Holiness is therefore determined (if force shall deprive him of his possession) to maintain the integrity of his rights, because the Holy See can recover the real possession, *when it may please the true and faithful God, who fights for justice, and who hath inscribed on his garments and forehead, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords.*

At the same time his Holiness conjures all of his subjects, who have been withdrawn from his power, to remain firm and inflexible in their religion and faith, in which the God of Israel will grant them strength and virtue.

These sentiments and protestations his Holiness has required to be made known to his Excellency the *Charge-d'-Affaires* of the kingdom of Italy, with which kingdom his provinces have been incorporated.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*Measures taken by the Inhabitants of Cadiz to resist the French.—They receive Assistance from Admiral Purvis.—Treachery and Death of Marquis de Solano, Governor of Andalusia.—Succeeded by Don Morla.—Surrender of the French Fleet at Cadiz.—Dupont sent from Madrid to prevent its Seizure by the Spaniards.—Proclamation of Don Morla to the Inhabitants of Cadiz.—Proceedings of the Spanish Army under General Castanos.—Battle of Baylen, and Victory over the French.—Defence of Saragossa by Palafox.—Constitution of Spain submitted to the Junta at Bayonne, and other Matters relative to his new Catholic Majesty, &c. &c.*

BEFORE it was officially known in Spain what part the British government would take in aiding the struggle of the Patriots, the inhabitants of Cadiz applied to Admiral Purvis, then in command of the English fleet then at Gibralter, for some assistance. In consequence of which he immediately sailed for that port, in order to attack the French squadron laying there. On his arrival, however, he found that the Marquis de Solano, Governor-general of Andalusia, was by no means inclined to join his countrymen in their resistance against France. This occasioned considerable uneasiness to the minds of the people of Cadiz, who were determined, from their attachment to Ferdinand, and their dislike to the Emperor of the French, not to submit to the counsels or measures of their Governor, against whom suspicions of treachery were entertained, and

so strong were their suspicions, that they finally resolved to put him to death; which having done, they appointed Don Morla, his successor, a man well qualified, from the vigor and firmness of his mind, for the arduous office he was called upon to fill.

One of the first acts of their new Governor was to demand, in the name of the Supreme Junta, a surrender of the French squadron, consisting of five sail of the line and a frigate, under the command of Admiral Rosilly, which had placed themselves in a defensive position in the channel leading to the Caraccas, and out of the reach of the works of Cadiz. But the French Admiral refused to surrender his fleet. On this an action took place between the Spanish gun and mortar boats, and the batteries erected on the Isle of Leon and Fort Louis, with the French ships, which continued without any intermission on either side, from three o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th of June till night. On the 10th it was renewed by the Spaniards, and partially continued till two o'clock of the same day, when a flag of truce was hoisted by the French; but the terms they offered being inadmissible, it was intended to recommence hostilities on the following day, with an additional battery to the eastward of Fort Louis, consisting of thirty 24-pounders. The proposals made by the French Admiral, was to quit the bay; but in case the English would not accede to this, (who, though they took no part in the former engagement, were consulted by the Spanish Governor on this occasion) he then offered, as a further measure to tranquilize the minds of the people of the province, to disembark his means of attack, to confine his men to their vessels, and to forbear hoisting his

flag, on condition that hostages should be given for the security of the persons and property of such of the French people who were then in the province; at the same time he was willing to grant similar hostages on his part, and to pay for such provisions and refreshments as his squadron might need. These offers were, however, rejected by Don Morla, as incompatible with his honour and the trust he held, and who would not accept of any terms short of an unconditional surrender on the part of the French Admiral. The attack was accordingly recommenced, and after a contest of three days, the French fleet surrendered, and which was accompanied by the following letter from the French Admiral to Don Morla:

COPY OF A LETTER OF THE FRENCH ADMIRAL ROSILLY TO THE GOVERNOR OF CADIZ, ON HIS AGREEING TO SURRENDER TO THE SPANIARDS THE FLEET UNDER HIS COMMAND.

*“ Hero, Bay of Cadiz, June 14.*

“ CAPTAIN GENERAL,

“ I FIND myself compelled, in consequence of the means exercised against me, to give up the fleet under my command, without further resistance; seeing that it is the interest of both nations not to destroy the ships.

“ Although your Excellency has not communicated to me, that the crews of the ships under my command, as well as their property, should be respected, I reckon too much on Spanish honour, and the known generosity of your own character, to entertain fears on those subjects.

“ I request that your excellency will only send a few troops at first, that the crews may evacuate, ship after ship, in order to avoid the confusion which has, on such occasions, taken place.

“ According to the laws of war, I request that you will permit, or procure permission for me to send an officer to his Majesty the Emperor of the French, in order that I may be enabled to give him an account of the events which have taken place.

“ I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration, your excellency's most humble servant,

(Signed)

“ ROSILLY.”

In order to prevent the French fleet at Cadiz

from falling into the hands of the Spaniards, Murat was induced to dispatch General Dupont from Madrid, with a considerable force to the South of Spain, as well as to disperse, if possible, the Supreme Junta at Seville, in order to quell the formidable spirit of insurrection in that quarter. Dupont had, however, scarcely passed the Sierra Morena, than he was informed of the surrender of the French fleet, and having witnessed the disaffection of the Spaniards towards his army, he deemed it unsafe to proceed further on his march to Cadiz. After pushing on to Cordova, of which he obtained a short possession, from the want of firmness in some of the newly-raised levies, he measured back his steps towards Andujar.

In order to quiet the apprehension and jealousy which the inhabitants had manifested in respect to the conduct of their former Governor, and to unite, with more steadiness, their efforts against the French, it was thought expedient by Don Morla, in the name of the Supreme Government, to issue the following spirited and vigorous

#### PROCLAMATION.

ADDRESS OF THE GOVERNMENT TO THE INHABITANTS OF  
CADIZ.

“THE French squadron has surrendered at discretion, relying on the humanity and generosity of the inhabitants of Cadiz, as has already been made known. The measures which have been pursued, have prevented our squadron from sustaining the least damage, nor have the forces employed to reduce the French squadron sustained any considerable loss, and the effusion of blood has been less than in a combat of two small armed vessels; the loss in killed does not exceed four men. The French ships, their arms, and warlike stores, remain at our disposal, and the prisoners taken will be exchanged for our troops. Nothing of that kind could have been attained by red-hot balls, or similar means. Had no measures of prevention been taken, which require time, our loss would have been much greater. I therefore trust I have acquitted myself in a manner worthy of the inhabitants of this town, who have given me

so many repeated proofs of their confidence and respect, that I shall at all times entertain the highest sense of the approbation with which they have honoured my conduct.

“But now I demand, exact, and ordain; that all disturbances shall cease; that every thing shall return to order; that all persons, according to their different ranks and stations shall submit to the constituted authorities, who all depend upon the Supreme Council of Government, at all times solicitous to promote the public welfare, and to procure the best alliances and means to secure a successful issue of our undertaking; Let the laws reign, and all arbitrary proceedings be avoided. *The most enlightened and civilized people upon earth disgraces itself by demanding the death of any individual. The field of battle, where force is repelled by force, authorises alone the effusion of blood, which is otherwise illegal. The Sovereign himself is not master of the life of an offender, unless he has forfeited the same by the laws of his country.*

“These laws prohibit, in all countries, even among the most barbarous nations, sedition and disturbances of every description; we are bound to obey and respect them. This is the only means to secure a successful issue of the contest in which we are engaged, and not to offend either against the God of Hosts, or the sovereign whose sacred rights we have sworn to defend.

“In order to avoid an unnecessary multiplication of publications, I now address the French, who reside in this city. The Supreme Council has used towards you the utmost lenity and respect; after having taken the oath of fidelity to the Spanish nation, you are permitted to remain in this country, and your property is respected. Grateful for this valuable blessing, you should not be vipers, which sting the bosom that gave them shelter. On the contrary you are bound to shew the utmost loyalty and respect for a government which treats you in so generous a manner; by such conduct you will not only avoid the odium of the good inhabitants of this town, but also obtain their love. Should you act otherwise, dread their justice, they will punish with the utmost rigour, and without the least mercy; even meetings which you may hold among yourselves, and disloyal expressions which you may make use of in opposition to our cause. Should any one of you be so far devoid of reason as not to respect it on account of its equity and justice, he will fall a victim of his wickedness or pride.

“Cadix, June 14.

“MORLA.”

The Junta of Seville were by no means inattentive to the desperate situation in which Dupont's army was placed, and accordingly employed every means in their power to defeat its objects, and effect its surrender.

The most numerous, as well as the best disciplined part of the Spanish troops, which Buonaparté



had suffered to remain in their own kingdom, were those which were stationed at the commencement of the insurrection, in the camp of St. Roche, before Gibraltar. When these were informed of the proceedings which had taken place in the several provinces, and the spirited opposition that was shewn to the French, Castanos, their general, opened a friendly communication with Sir Hew Dalrymple, the British governor of Gibraltar. Every facility was afforded them for marching without delay, to the support of their brethren in arms, and as they stood in need of money, this was also supplied them in the most liberal manner.

In the meantime, Castanos received considerable reinforcements from Ceuta, who were all animated, not only by their love and attachment to their general, but by the most enthusiastic desire to rescue and retrieve the independance of their country, and its legitimate government, from the despotism of the French Emperor. An ardour which no means were left untried to fan and to inflame. Castanos accordingly found himself at the head of an army, ready to accomplish whatever he might propose for their general good, and to co-operate with him in whatever might tend to contribute to their military glory and success. Yet it was not deemed prudent to hazard at once an open and general engagement with the army of Dupont, who, although completely cut off from receiving any reinforcements, it was thought best to weaken by petty skirmishes and attacks, rather than encounter in a pitched battle. His supplies of provision were known to be very inadequate to the subsistence of his army, while all who could afford him succour, fled from him on every

side. Another consideration which operated on the mind of Castanos, and which induced him to avoid as long as possible, any general action, was the state of his own soldiers, many of whom, though eager for combat, were, from their inexperience in arms, unequal to sustain a conflict with the veteran troops of France. Castanos, therefore, wisely determined to wait some favourable opportunity, which might present itself, of attacking, with more certainty of success, the weakened and dispirited enemy, and thus bringing on his own forces to more advantage.

After several petty and partial actions, in which the Spaniards had been uniformly successful, either in the attacks of the French, or forcing them to fall back, by which Castanos had, in a great measure, trained his raw troops into habits of more perfect discipline, it was determined in a council of war, held on the 17th of July, that an attack should be made on the town of Baylen, where the van of the French army was posted, by the united divisions of Major-General Reding and the Marquis de Compigny; whilst the third division, and the reserve, should cut off and occupy the attention of the enemy, by a feigned attack on Andujar.

Accordingly Major-General Reding, after encountering very trifling opposition, succeeded in gaining possession of Baylen, and forcing the enemy back towards La Carolina. Having sent notice of this success to the Commander-in-Chief, he was ordered not to pursue the retreating division of the French, but to advance upon Andujar without delay. On the 19th Castanos received intelligence that the French had begun their retreat from An-

dujar early in the morning of that day. The residue under the command of Lieutenant-General Pena, was ordered immediately to advance towards Baylen.

In the mean time General Reding was preparing to advance towards Andujar, on the road from Baylen. At three o'clock of the morning of the 19th, while the troops were forming for the march, General Dupont, with his army, attacked the Spanish camps, opening a sudden and tremendous fire with his artillery, evidently expecting to take Reding by surprize. He was, however, disappointed. The Spaniards, though unprepared for this assault, as it took place at the very moment they were preparing for their march, instantly, and without any confusion or dismay, repaired, under the direction of their brave and gallant commanders, to the different points of attack, supported and assisted by their artillery. After suffering, partially, from the sudden and impetuous assault of the enemy, the Spaniards fully recovered themselves, and by day-break succeeded in getting possession of the heights; the enemy again directed their chief operations against different parts of the Spanish line, having the advantage of forming his columns in the superior position he occupied, under cover of his artillery. He was, notwithstanding, routed, and even pursued, in defiance of his repeated attacks, and which were without any other intermission or interruption, than was necessary to supply fresh columns, continued till twelve o'clock. General Dupont having thus far failed in his endeavours to break and weaken the Spanish line, he, along with his other generals, at the head of their respective columns, resolved to make one

other effort, by charging the Spaniards, sword in hand, but which was attended with no better success. For, although they had penetrated the Spanish line, in different parts, and had more than once succeeded in reaching their batteries, the Spanish army, with more coolness, intrepidity, and discipline, than might have been expected from them, regularly formed again, dismounted the enemy's artillery, and cut to pieces the attacking columns, and in which they displayed equal skill and bravery. The eventual success of General Reding, over the main body of the French army, led on by Dupont himself, decided the fate of the day.

General Pena's division, consisting of the reserve, had scarcely come up with the rear of the enemy, before an express arrived from General Reding, informing him that he remained master of the field. Dupont now found himself in a dangerous and harrassing predicament. The main body of his army, after their repeated attacks on the Spaniards, had been obliged to retreat, in great confusion and with no inconsiderable loss. The rear of his army at the same time, though it had not been actually defeated, was in such a weak and unsupported condition, that it must easily fall before the meditated attack of General Pena's division. Dupont had, indeed, expected reinforcements from Madrid, from whence General Wedel, with 6,000 men, had been dispatched to join him; but as this reinforcement was yet at some distance, and even if it had actually arrived, could do but little service, Dupont had agreed to capitulate, straitened as he was for provisions, and completely cut off from any certain or safe retreat. Hostilities were accordingly suspend-

ed in both armies, during which suspension, it was proposed each should maintain their respective positions. This, however, was not consented to by the Spanish General, who insisted on Dupont's surrender at discretion. In the meanwhile General Wedel, who was at Guarroman, advanced upon Baylen and attacked General Reding in so sudden and unexpected a manner, that the battalion of Cordova was surprized and taken prisoners, and two field pieces were also lost. In consequence of this unprepared attack, and which was deemed by the Spanish Commander, contrary to the laws of war; the division of General Pena, assisted by another division, formed themselves into a position of attack on Dupont, to avert which, the latter gave immediate orders for Wedel to retire and occupy his former post, which was no sooner complied with, than the capitulation was resumed.

The negotiations lasted till the evening of the 20th, when it was finally agreed to grant such terms to Dupont, as under all the circumstances of the case, cannot be considered otherwise, than highly favourable to the French, who were only to deliver up their arms till their arrival at Cadiz, where they would be restored, and from whence the whole of the French army were to be embarked and sent to Rochefort. These forces, by the official returns, was found to have consisted before the battle of Baylen, of 14,000 men; of these nearly 3,000 were killed and wounded. The Spanish army consisted of 25,000 men, one half of whom were peasantry; their loss amounted to 1,200 in killed and wounded.

The terms granted to Dupont, notwithstanding



the faithful execution of them were pledged by General Castanos, were not ratified by the Junta of Seville, and who opposed their being carried into effect; the reasons for which, have been variously accounted for. It is certain, that the inhabitants of Cadiz were much shocked and irritated, at discovering among the plunder which the French troops were about to carry off, several of the sacred utensils of the church; after that discovery, it was deemed improper to allow the embarkation to proceed. Dupont was also accused of having conducted himself in a very outrageous and unbecoming manner; yet it may justly be doubted whether any, or all of these circumstances, ought to have impeded the honourable fulfilment of those terms, on which the French army had capitulated. The Junta of Seville were called upon, not only by a regard to their own honour, but the plighted faith of their General, to protect the French prisoners from the fury of the mob, and to guarantee their safe return to their own country; nor should they have yielded the claims of justice to the resentment or indignation of the populace of Cadiz, by whatever means it was excited.

Another plea for the non-execution of the terms of the capitulation, on the part of the Junta of Seville, was, that Castanos had exceeded his powers; though it cannot be imagined they would commit the chief command of an army to a General, who was not competent to act in cases in which he was the best military judge. If his powers were so restrained, that he could not enter into any treaty, without previously consulting the Junta, they



ought to have made such restrictions public, and to have expressed their displeasure against Castanos, for having violated them. Nor is the excuse urged for the non-ratification of the treaty, "That the Spaniards had no means of carrying the French safe to Rochefort, without exposure to capture by the English, more solid or satisfactory." There is no reason to suppose the English government (as their ally) would have thrown any obstacle in the way of the safe conveyance of the prisoners to France. The non-fulfilment of the terms of Dupont's capitulation, from whatever cause or quarter it may have originated, therefore cannot be justified, as consistent with the honour of the Spanish character.

Nor were the arms of the Patriots in the other provinces of Spain less successful, than those which had occasioned the surrender of the French army under General Dupont. The defence of Arragon, which had been committed to Palafox, will be long and gratefully remembered by the Spaniards. To the intrepid conduct of this brave general, the nation of Spain owe one of their most splendid triumphs. Saragossa, the chief city of Arragon, had sustained repeated attacks from the French, which were resisted and repulsed with equal spirit and bravery. Nothing can possibly surpass the invincible and inflexible courage of the Patriots, displayed on this occasion. Every stratagem had been employed by the French, that force or artifice could suggest, in order to make themselves masters of the place. The inhabitants were constantly on the watch, and in a state of preparation, to counteract the secret and open assaults to which they were so alarmingly exposed.

The walls of Saragossa appear to have been constructed merely to facilitate the means of levying taxes upon every article brought into the town for sale; the gates, which are nine in number, are of the most simple construction, and the *alignment* between them is in some places preserved by the mud-wall of a garden, in others by buildings, or by the remains of an old Moorish wall, which has a slight parapet, but without any platform, even for musquetry.

The buildings of the city are of brick, and the two cathedrals, the numerous convents and churches, though built of the same materials, are not, altogether, devoid of ornament. The houses are three stories in height; the streets very narrow and crooked, excepting one or two market-places, and the street called the Cozo, situated nearly in the centre of the town.

The population of Saragossa may be estimated at about 60,000 souls; although the census, taken in 1787, gives only 42,600.

It was on the 25th of May, 1808, that the inhabitants of this defenceless city, and the peasantry of the surrounding country, rose in a mass, to repel the unprincipled aggressions of the French. The Captain-General of Aragon, Guiliamah, had betrayed an inclination to submit to the enemy, by attempting to disarm the people; in consequence of this, he was seized, and thrown into prison, and the inhabitants of Saragossa and of the neighbouring villages unanimously conferred the government upon Don Joseph Palafox, the youngest of three brothers of one of the most distinguished families of Arragon.

At the commencement of the revolution, this no-

bleman had been selected from the officers of the guards, to be second in command to the Marquis de Castillar, to whose custody the Prince of the Peace was confided, after his arrest at Aranjuez; he afterward accompanied Ferdinand VII. to Bayonne, from whence he had recently escaped, in the disguise of a peasant, to his country-seat near Saragossa.

This distinguished nobleman was about thirty-four years of age: his person of middling stature, his eyes lively and expressive, and his whole deportment that of a perfectly well bred man accustomed to the best society. At the time when Don J. Palafox assumed the command in Arragon, he had very little acquaintance with military affairs; for though he had been in the Spanish guards all his life, he had never seen actual service, and his time had been principally passed in the dissipation of Madrid, where he had gained no inconsiderable distinction from the splendour and fashion of his appearance.

At the commencement of his command, on the 25th of May, the neighbouring provinces of Navarre and Catalonia were possessed by the French; the passes of the Pyrennees, leading directly into his kingdom, were open, and Murat, with the main body of the French forces, was stationed at Madrid. Thus surrounded by his enemy, General Palafox mustered the regular troops quartered at Saragossa, and found that they amounted to 220 men, and that the public treasury of the province could furnish him only with 2,000 reals, a sum in English money only equal to 20l. 16s. 8d. Placing, however, a just confidence in the patriotism manifested by the people, he immediately declared war against the French, by issuing that spirited proclamation, which we have before noticed.

Early in the month of June, and before any plans could possibly be executed for organizing a force for the defence of Arragon, the French detached 8,000 infantry and 900 cavalry from Pamplona against Saragossa. As soon as this movement on the part of the enemy was ascertained, the Marquis de Lazan, the eldest brother of Don Joseph Palafox, collected some armed peasantry, and met this force in the neighbourhood of Tudela, on the 13th of June. The Arragonese were soon compelled to retire to the village of Mallen, where they had again the misfortune to feel the inefficiency of undisciplined bodies, when opposed to regular troops, although an olive wood between the canal of Arragon, which supported the right, and the village of Mallen on the left, could not but be considered as a favourable position for an irregular force.

On the 14th of June the French advanced to Alagon, distant about 16 miles from Saragossa. The inhabitants of this city immediately assembled with all the arms of every description which they could collect, and actually compelled their General to lead them against the enemy. They had not advanced far from Saragossa, when they found the French in order of battle in a plain: a position particularly advantageous to them, as they possessed both cavalry and flying artillery. The ill armed and undisciplined Arragonese soon felt the superiority of the enemy, and were obliged to retire to Saragossa. Their retreat, however, was covered by the 220 regulars (who had been previously joined by some fusileers of the province) with a steadiness and gallantry which entitled them to the thanks of their General, and

excited the admiration of their countrymen. The French now advanced within a very short distance of Saragossa, where they took up a position in the valley, on the opposite side of the town to that situated on the Ebro, and which was covered by rising ground planted with olive trees. Having occupied this post, they deferred their general attack upon the city till the morrow; but a small detachment of cavalry that penetrated into the town, on the 14th of June, paid dearly for their rashness.

The Arragoneses had hastily planted some cannon before the gates of their city, and also in favourable positions without the town, particularly at the Torrero, and upon the height near to it.

On the 15th of June the French sent a detachment against the outposts upon the canal, while their main body attempted to storm the city, by the gate called Portillo. The Aragonese, attacked almost at the same moment, both in their outposts and at the gates of their town, fought with great fury, but without order; their artillery was served by any person who chanced to be near it; every one alternately commanded and obeyed; but all were animated by the same spirit, and their efforts, after a most severe conflict, were finally crowned with success. A party of the enemy that entered the town, were instantly put to death, and the French General, convinced that it was fruitless to persevere in his attack, withdrew his troops to a position out of reach of the Arragoneses.

Saragossa, thus liberated for a time from the French, was left with very slender resources to sustain a siege. Its fortifications consisted merely of



mud walls; it was destitute of heavy artillery, and without troops that could undertake sorties against the enemy's works. In spite, however, of all these discouraging circumstances, the people, confiding in God, in their own courage, and the justice of their cause, determined to defend the streets of their town to the last extremity.

As soon as the French were repulsed on the 15th of June, General Palafox set out from Saragossa, in order to collect reinforcements, and provide resources for a siege, and also to place the rest of the kingdom in a state of defence, should the capital fall. He found from 12 to 1,400 soldiers, who had escaped from Madrid, and he united with them a small division of militia stationed in Calatayud. With this force, in compliance with the urgent desire of his soldiers, he resolved to attack the French. He marched immediately to Epila, and it was his intention to have advanced from thence to the village of La Muela, by which manœuvre he hoped to place the French between his little army and the city of Saragossa. Those intentions, however, were frustrated by a sudden attack on the part of the enemy in the night, at Epila, when the Spaniards, after a most obstinate but fruitless resistance, were at length compelled to yield to superior numbers and discipline. The wreck of this little force retired from the scene of action to Calatayud, and afterwards, with great difficulty, threw themselves into Saragossa.

During this time the French received reinforcements of troops and artillery from Pamplona, and began to occupy the several military positions in the plain covered with olive trees, that surround Sara-



gossa. The enterprize and valour of the besieged did not allow their enemies to carry on these operations unmolested: in a short time, however, the French had invested nearly one-half of the town, and on the 28th of June they took possession of the Torrero. The neighbouring battery also, which had been entrusted to an artillery officer, and 500 men, fell into their hands; the officer was declared a traitor to his country for not defending this important post as he ought to have done, and on his return into Saragossa was immediately hanged. After the surrender of the Torrero, the city could communicate only with the country on the side of the Ebro.

During these operations of the enemy, the Arragonese were busily employed in placing their town in the best possible state of defence that their slender resources would admit of. They tore down the awnings from their windows, and formed them into sacks, which they filled with sand, and piled up before every gate in the form of a battery, digging round each of them a deep trench. They broke holes in the mud-walls and intermediate buildings for musquetry, and sometimes, where the position was commanding, cannon were stationed: the houses in the environs of the city were pulled down or burned; gardens and olive grounds, that in better times had been the recreation and support of their owners, were cheerfully rooted up by the proprietors themselves, wherever they impeded the defence of the city, or covered the approach of the enemy. The exertions of the men were animated by women of every description, who formed themselves into parties for the relief of the wounded, and for carrying

water and provisions to the batteries at the gates, while their children were employed in conveying cartridges which had been made by the monks.

The French continued to invest the city more closely, and scarcely a day passed without a sanguinary contest in the surrounding olive woods, between detachments of the Arragonese and their enemy. In the last few days of the month of June, 400 soldiers of the regiment of Estramadura, small parties of other corps, and a few artillerymen, contrived to reinforce Saragossa. To the artillerymen were added 200 of the militia of Logrono, who, animated by the presence of an enemy, soon learned the ordinary duties of the corps to which they were attached. About the same time, two pieces of cannon (24-pounders) and some shells, that were much wanted, were procured from Lerida.

The enemy, at the same time, drew their resources from the stores in the citadel of Pamplona, whilst the Arragonese, now completely surrounded by the French, had not one single fortress to which they could have recourse, either for ammunition or for cannon.

About the last day of June, a powder magazine, a very strong building in the heart of the city of Saragossa, blew up, and in a moment nearly a whole street was reduced to a heap of ruins; the inhabitants of Saragossa had scarcely recovered from their consternation at this fatal and irreparable loss, and from the labour of extricating their fellow-citizens from the ruin of their houses, when the French, who had received mortars, howitzers, and cannon, (12-pounders, of sufficient calibre for the mud-walls of

Saragossa) opened a destructive fire upon the city. It has been estimated, that about 1,200 shells and grenades fell in Saragossa, which had not one building within it that was bomb-proof, nor had the inhabitants then taken the precaution of placing beams of timber together endways against the houses, behind which passengers might find shelter whenever a shell should chance to fall near them.

The attack of the enemy seemed to be directed principally against the gate called *Portillo*, and the castle near it without the walls, and which is nothing more than a large square building, made use of as a prison, and surrounded by a deep ditch. The sand-bag battery before the gate of the *Portillo* was gallantly defended by the Arragonese. It was several times destroyed, and as often reconstructed under the fire of the enemy. The carnage in this battery throughout the day was truly terrible. It was here, that an act of heroism was performed by a female, to which history scarcely affords a parallel. Augustina Saragossa, about 22 years of age, a handsome woman, of the lower class of people, whilst performing her duty of carrying refreshments to the gates, arrived at the battery of the *Portillo* at the very moment when the French fire absolutely destroyed every person that was stationed in it. The citizens and soldiers for the moment hesitated to re-man the guns; Augustina rushed forward over the wounded and slain, snatched a match from the hand of a dead artilleryman, and fired off a 26-pounder, then jumped upon the gun, made a solemn vow never to quit it alive during the siege; and having stimulated her fellow-citizens by this daring intrepidity to fresh exertions, they instantly rushed into the battery, and again opened a

tremendous fire upon the enemy.—As a memorial and reward of her heroism, she had a small shield of honour embroidered upon the sleeve of her gown, with “Saragossa” inscribed upon it, and was receiving a pension from the government and the daily pay of an artilleryman.

On the second of July, as soon as the morning broke, a column of the enemy marched out of their battery, almost within musket-shot of the Portillo, and the remainder of their force was seen drawn up, as though with an intent to second the attack of the advancing column, or to profit by its success, should it penetrate into Saragossa. With fixed bayonets, and without discharging a shot, the column of the enemy marched towards the battery of the Portillo; but as soon as they reached the castle, a destructive fire of grape and musquetry was opened upon their flank, the consequence of which was, that the French column immediately dispersed, notwithstanding the most gallant exertions of their officers.

Another column of infantry was instantly directed by the French General to advance against the gate of the *Carmen*, on the left of the Portillo. This gate was defended by a sand-bag battery, and by musquetry, which, lining the walls on each side, commanded two out of three approaches to the gate; this column was also repulsed with considerable loss.

It should seem by these attacks, which were considered as extremely injudicious by the military people of Saragossa, that the French conceived their destructive bombardment must have convinced the Arragonese of the absurdity of attempting to sustain

a siege in so defenceless a city, which, in their opinion, could not fail to surrender whenever a division of their troops should have penetrated into the town. The result proved how mistaken an estimate the French had made of the firmness and decision of the Arragonese character.

Defeated in these two attacks, the enemy proceeded to invest the place still more closely. Above the city the Ebro was fordable, and below it the French, in spite of the efforts of the Arragonese, had constructed a bridge on the 14th of July. Having by these means transported their cavalry to the opposite bank of the river, they destroyed the mills which supplied the town with flour, levied contributions in the different villages, and thus cut off the only communication by which the besieged could receive any supplies, either of provisions or ammunition. Every difficulty, however, which they hourly, nay, momentarily, experienced, served only to heighten the resentment of the people, and to call forth the resources of their active and intelligent General. In this critical situation he caused corn-mills, worked by horses, to be established in various parts of the city, and ordered the monks to be employed, under skilful directors, in manufacturing gunpowder. All the sulphur which the place afforded was put into immediate requisition, the earth of the streets was carefully washed in order to furnish saltpetre; and charcoal was made of the stalks of hemp, which in that part of Spain grows to a very unusual size; and on this simple foundation there has been formed, since the siege, a regular manufactory of gunpowder, which yields 13 arobas of Castile per day, or 325 lbs. of 12 ounces.

At the close of the month of July, the Arragonese found their city completely invested by the enemy. Their large population was now but scantily supplied with food, and had little or no hope of succour. By the unremitted exertion of forty-six days, their spirits were exhausted, and their bodily strength necessarily impaired.—Without a single place of security for their sick and their children, they were in hourly expectation of another general attack, and a second more formidable bombardment; while their streets were filled with wounded, in consequence of daily skirmishes with the enemy, entered into in order to open a communication with the country. At this moment one desperate effort was made, though in vain, to recover the important position of the *Torrero*; after which the Arragonese, convinced of the impossibility of making a sortie with effect, resolved to conquer, or to perish within the walls of their city.

On the night of the 2d of August, and on the following day, the French bombarded Saragossa, from their batteries opposite the *Carmen*. A foundling-hospital, which contained the sick and wounded, who from time to time had been conveyed there during the siege, unfortunately caught fire, and was rapidly consumed. During this dreadful calamity, the exertions of every description of people were almost unparalleled; all attention to private property was instantly abandoned, and everybody was seen hastening to the relief of the sick and helpless children who occupied this building; but in this act of humanity none were more conspicuous than the women, who persisted in their humane exertions,



equally undaunted by the shot and shells of the enemy, and the flames of the building before them.

On the 3d of August the French had completed their batteries upon the right bank of the Guerva, a river that falls into the Ebro, and is separated only from the walls of Saragossa by the breadth of a common road. Nearly opposite to the centre of these batteries, and within pistol-shot, was the gate of the Santa Engracia, so called from a splendid convent and church situated on one side of it. On the 4th of August the French opened a tremendous fire upon this quarter of the city, and in an instant the mud-walls opposite to their batteries vanished, and the splendid convent of the Santa Engracia was on fire, and tottering in ruins.

The French columns immediately availed themselves of this entrance, to rush into the city, took in reverse the batteries before the adjacent gates, and, after a severe and sanguinary conflict, penetrating to the Calle de Cozo, nearly in the centre of the town, were in possession before the day closed of one-half of Saragossa. The French General immediately demanded the capitulation in the following note:—

*Quartel General—Santa Engracia. La Capitulation.*

The answer immediately returned was,—

*Quartel General—Saragossa. Guerra al Cuchillo.*

PALAFIX.\*

One side of the street Cozo, the breadth of which is about equal to that of Pall Mall, was now occu-

\* *Head Quarters, Santa Egracia.* The Capitulation.

*Head Quarters, Saragossa.* War, “even” to the knife.

The knife is a very formidable weapon in the hands of the Arragoneze in close combat.

pied by the French, in the centre of which General Verdier was seen giving his orders from the Franciscan convent. The Arragonese maintained their positions on the opposite side, throwing up batteries at the openings of the streets, within a few paces of similar batteries of the French. The intervening space was soon heaped up with dead, either thrown from the windows of the houses in which they had been slain, or killed in the conflicts below.

Nothing in the whole course of the siege more embarrassed Don Joseph Palafox than this enormous accumulation of the dead, and the apprehension of the contagious disorders which must infallibly result from it. To an Arragonese it was almost instant death to appear in the middle of the street; and the expedient resorted to was to push forward French prisoners, with a rope attached to them, amidst the dead and the dying, to remove the bodies of their countrymen, and bring them in for burial. The office in which they were employed, and the pity of their own soldiers, secured them in general from any annoyance, and by this expedient the evils arising from the horrible corruption of the dead was in some degree diminished. The principal season for attack in this singular species of warfare, was the night; the French and the Arragonese, under the cover of darkness, frequently dashed across the street, and attacked each other's batteries with the most undaunted courage, the struggle began at the batteries was often carried into the houses beyond, and unequivocal marks of the madness with which such sort of contest was carried on, may be seen in the houses of the Calle de Cqzo. The batteries of the contending parties were so close to each other, that, in one instance, a Spaniard crept from his own

side, and insinuating himself under the intermediate bodies of the dead, attached a rope to one of the French cannon; in the struggle which ensued, the rope broke, and the Arragonese were deprived of their prize at the very moment when they thought themselves secure of it.

On the 5th of August, when the French were expected to renew their efforts to obtain complete possession of the city, the Arragonese found their ammunition begin to fail; but even this circumstance created no dismay, nor did it suggest to any one the idea of capitulation. The only cry that assailed the ears of the gallant General, as he rode among the people, was, that if ammunition failed, they were ready to attack the enemy with their knives alone. At this awful crisis, just before the day closed, a convoy of provisions and ammunition, and a reinforcement of 3,000 men, composed of Spanish guards, Swiss, and volunteers of Arragon, unexpectedly made their entry into the city, under the command of the brother of the Captain-General, Don Francisco Palafox.

A council of war that was held on the 8th, came to the following ever-memorable resolves:—"That those quarters of the city, in which the Arragonese yet maintained themselves, should continue to be defended with the same firmness which had hitherto been so conspicuous; should the enemy at last prevail, the people were immediately to retire by the bridge over the Ebro into the suburbs, and having destroyed the bridge, to defend the suburbs till they perished." This resolution of the General and his officers was received by the people with the loudest acclamations.

For 11 successive days the most sanguinary con-

flict was continued from street to street, from house to house, and from room to room, (the enraged populace always gaining by degrees upon the disciplined troops of the French) until the space occupied by the enemy was gradually reduced to about one-eighth part of the city.

One character which developed itself during the siege of Saragossa, must not be overlooked.—In every part of the town, where the danger was most imminent, and the French the most numerous, was Padre St. Iago Sass, curate of a parish in Saragossa. As General Palafox made his rounds through the city, he often beheld Sass alternately playing the part of a priest and a soldier; sometimes administering the sacrament to the dying, and, at others, fighting in the most determined manner against the enemies of his country: from his energy of character and uncommon bravery, the commander-in-chief reposed the utmost confidence in him during the siege: wherever any thing difficult or hazardous was to be done, Sass was selected for its execution; and the introduction of a supply of powder, so essentially necessary to the defence of the town, was effected in the most complete manner by this clergyman, at the head of 40 of the bravest men in Saragossa. He was found so serviceable in inspiring the people with religious sentiments, and in leading them on to danger, that the General has placed him in a situation where both his piety and courage may continue to be as useful as before; and he is now both captain in the army, and chaplain to the commander-in-chief.

The spirit displayed by the men, was seconded in the most admirable manner by the women of Sara-

gossa. The Countess Burita, a lady of great rank in that country, formed a corps of women for the relief of the wounded, and for the purpose of carrying provisions and wine to the soldiers; many persons of the most unquestionable veracity in Saragossa declare that they have frequently seen this young, delicate, and beautiful woman, coolly attending to the duties she had prescribed to herself, in the midst of the most tremendous fire of shot and shells; nor were they even able to perceive, from the first moment that she entered into these novel scenes, that the idea of personal danger could produce upon her the slightest effect, or bend her from her benevolent and patriotic purpose. The loss of women and boys during the siege was very great, and fully proportionate to that of men; in fact, they were almost the most forward; and the difficulty was, to teach them a prudent and proper sense of their danger.

During the night of the 13th of August, the French fire was particularly destructive, and when their batteries ceased flames were observed to burst out in many parts of the buildings in their possession; and on the morning of the 14th, to the great surprise of the Arragonese, their columns were seen at a great distance retreating over the plain, on the road to Pamplona. Their departure had probably been hastened by intelligence that the Junta of Valencia had dispatched 6,000 men to join the levies in Arragon, destined to relieve the capital.

Thus terminated the siege of Saragossa, which, whether it be considered with reference to the superiority of the means of annoyance in possession of the enemy, to the utter incapability of the place to resist a regular and continued attack, to the in-

stances of collective and individual courage, to the patience and heroism of its defenders, of either sex, and in every situation in life, can be deemed second to none recorded in the annals of ancient or modern times.

Having thus far succeeded in frustrating the military operations of the French, Palafox issued the following

### PROCLAMATION.

THE GENERAL OF SARRAGOSSA TO THE ARAGONESE, CONQUERORS OF THE HAUGHTY FRENCH !

ARRAGONESE !

"You have proved yourselves to be worthy of your name. That multitude of proud warriors, triumphant in every other part of Europe, ceased to retain the character of conquerors when they came before you. You are inferior, both in discipline and numbers; because one-twentieth part of our forces have not entered into action, having been incapable of uniting. But your zeal has overcome every difficulty. The musketry, in which your enemies place so much confidence, are weak instruments of their power when you appear before them: you look at them with courage, and they fall at your feet.

"Arragonese! the result of our first attempt has been to leave on the field of battle 18,000 enemies, composing a complete army, which had the audacity to provoke our resentment. We have had the good fortune to get possession of all the property and baggage, of which the people have been infamously plundered, in the countries through which this army passed. Our loss consists only of from 1,700 to 2,000 killed, and an equal number wounded: a loss bearing no comparison to the triumph we have obtained. Their precious blood is shed in the field of glory, on their own territory, and these blessed martyrs demand new victims; let us prepare for the sacrifice, Arragonese! be not impatient. The enemy against whom we fight is rash, and will afford frequent opportunities for you to exercise your skill and your courage. If, especially, the lawless bands which violate our city of Madrid, and the commander, Murat, should venture to approach us, we should receive the intelligence with the highest satisfaction; we would anticipate their expectations, and meet them half way.

"Arragonese! if the battle of Saragossa had been gained by these intruders, we should have heard of their babbling of the victories of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, acquired by the same valour. Although the conquest we have effected has been sanguinary, yet it has been glorious. Do you consider it as a trifling commencement of your future triumphs under the powerful assistance of your illustrious leader and patron.

*"Head Quarters at Saragossa, June 17.*

*"PALAFOX."*



Notwithstanding the efforts of the Spanish Patriots, to maintain the independance of their country, and to preserve their allegiance to its legitimate sovereigns, the Junta of Bayonne were still actively employed in discussing the various articles on the project of the new constitution, which was submitted to them, and were in substance as follows :

#### NEW CONSTITUTION OF SPAIN.

By the 1st Article it is provided, that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion, to be the predominant and sole religion of Spain, and that none other shall be tolerated.

II. That Prince Joseph Napoleon, King of Naples and Sicily, is King of Spain and the Indies, and that the crown shall be hereditary in the male issue. In default of such male issue lawfully begotten of the Prince Joseph Napoleon, the crown of Spain to descend to Prince Louis Napoleon, King of Holland, or in default thereof, to the successors of Jerome Napoleon, King of Westphalia. The crown of Spain shall never be fixed on the same head with any other crown. The King, on his accession to the throne, to subscribe to the following oath: "I swear on the Holy Evangelists, to reverence, and cause to be revered our holy religion, to maintain the inviolability of the Spanish territory, to respect the liberty of the subject, and to govern alone for the welfare, happiness, and glory, of the Spanish nation."

III. *Of the Government.*—The minority of the King shall last till he has attained his eighteenth year. During which minority there shall be a Regent, nominated by the preceding King, which Regent must be at least 25 years of age; but who has no right to the personal custody of the King during his minority, as the care of the young Sovereign is to be invested in his mother, or in a Prince appointed by the demised King.

IV. *Property of the Crown.*—The palaces of Madrid, the Escorial, St. Ildefonso, Aranjuez, D' El Pardo, and others, with the parks, woods, and domains, appertaining to each, to constitute the property of the crown. The revenues of which to be paid into the royal treasury, and which, if it should fall short of a million of hard piastres, this latter sum shall then be made good by the addition of further hereditary property hereafter to be made. The Kings sons, on attaining the age of 12 years, shall receive the following annual revenues, in the name of subsistence money, viz. the heir apparent 200,000 piastres, each Infante 100,000 piastres, and each infanta 50,000 piastres. The dowry of the Queen is fixed at 400,000 piastres.

V. *Officers of the Royal Household.*—Are to consist of six; a Grand Almoner, Grand Chamberlain, Grand Cupbearer, Grand Master of the Horse, Grand Huntsman, and Grand Master of the Ceremonies, the Noblemen of the Chambers, the Stewards,

Chaplains, and the Equiries, are officers of the Royal Household.

VI. There shall be nine Ministerial Departments, viz.—Of Police, Religion, Foreign Affairs, Domains, War, Marine, the Indies, and General Police. The King may commit several ministerial functions to one minister.

VII. *Of the Senate.*—The Senate is composed of the Infants of Spain, being 18 years of age; and of 24 individuals, especially appointed by the King from among his ministers. The Council of the Senate to consist of not less than 30, nor more than 60 members. The President of the Senate, to be appointed by the King, and chosen out of the Senate, and his functions are to last for one year.

IX. *The Cortes of the Nation.*—Are to be composed of 150 members, divided into three estates or orders, viz. those of the Clergy, the Nobility, and People. The Order of the Clergy to consist of 25 Archbishops, or Bishops; of the Order of the Nobles, 25 who shall have the title of Grandees of the Cortes. The Order of the People, to consist of 40 Deputies from the Provinces, 30 from the principal Cities, 15 from the Merchants, and 15 from the Universities; the most distinguished for their attainments in the Arts and Sciences. The Archbishops, or Bishops, to be raised to the rank of Members of the Cortes, by a writ, sealed with the Great Seal of the State. The Nobles must possess an annual income of at least 200,000 hard piastres, and have performed great service in the Civil or military Departments, to qualify them for being elevated to the Grandees of the Cortes. The Deputies from the Provinces, to be nominated in the proportion of at least one to 300,000 inhabitants. The Cortes shall assemble upon the summons of the King, and cannot be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved but by his orders. They shall meet at least once in three years. The President of the Cortes to be appointed by the King, but shall be chosen out of three candidates to be nominated by the Cortes by ballot, and a majority of voices. The decrees of the King, issued in pursuance of the decision of the Cortes, shall be introduced with the *formulá*, "upon consulting the Cortes."

X. *Spanish Colonies in America and Asia.*—Shall enjoy the same privileges as the mother country. Each kingdom shall have its deputies at the seat of government, to watch over their interest. Their deputies to consist of 20 in number, viz. two from New Spain, two from Peru, two from the New Kingdom of Granada, two from Buenos Ayres, two from the Phillippian Islands, one from Cuba, one from Porto Rico, one from the Province of Venezuela, one from Chareas, one from Quito, one from Chili, one from Guatimala, one from Guadalaxara, one from the Interior Provinces of New Spain, and one from the Eastern Provinces.

XI. *Of the Administration of Justice.*—Spain shall be governed by one and the same code of civil laws. The Administration of

Justice, is independent justice, shall be dispensed in the name of the King, by judges and courts, appointed by his majesty.

XII. *Of the Administration of the Finances.*—The Royal Vales are irrevocably declared a national debt. The Tolls in the Interior, between district and district, and province and province, are abolished, and will be transferred to the frontiers and coasts. There shall be one uniform system of taxation for the whole kingdom. All existing privileges conferred upon corporations or individuals are abolished, but indemnification shall be made for the loss of those privileges that have been acquired by a pecuniary consideration.

XIII. *General Regulations.*—There shall be a permanent alliance by sea and land, offensive and defensive, between France and Spain.—Foreigners who have rendered any service to the state, or who have purchased landed property, and pay a tax of 50 hard piastres, are admissible to the rights of naturalization in Spain.—The habitation of every Spaniard is an inviolable sanctuary, and can only be entered in the day time, for such purposes as are authorised by law, and for which an order has been signed by the public magistracy.—No person domiciliated in the Spanish territory, can be arrested, except in the actual commission of a crime, or by virtue of a special warrant in writing, in which the reason of the arrest shall be set forth.—No gaoler, or prison keeper, can receive, or hold any one in custody, without registering the particulars of his commitment.—The present Constitutional Statute, shall successively, and according to the respective articles, be carried into execution by Royal Decrees or Edicts, so that the whole shall be in operation before the 1st of January, 1813. The Freedom of the Press shall be regulated two years after the Constitutional Statute shall be in operation. The Cortes shall pass a law respecting the Freedom of the Press.

Other measures were also submitted to the Junta, by order of his *new Catholic Majesty*, to relieve his subjects from the burthen of such contributions as had hitherto proved hurtful to the agricultural interests of Spain, and oppressive and discouraging to the husbandman. Of this nature, was the temporary tax of four marvedies *per* quart of wine, and three *per cent.* upon all the produce which is subject to tythes. Yet, unwilling to hazard any reforms, without mature reflection, his Catholic Majesty was desirous this object should be seriously taken into consideration by the Junta, that the

Spaniards may judge, by the *first benefit*, what prosperity they may henceforth expect from the intentions of the monarch, and the labours of the Junta.

After the above subject had been duly examined by that body, it was unanimously decreed by them, to inform his Majesty that the tax upon wine was ruinous to agriculture, and that the three *per cents.* upon the fruits, only produced a mere trifle, and was vexatious in collecting, so that the abolition of these two taxes, would be a great benefit. A deputation, at the head of which was the Duke del Infantado, accordingly waited on his Majesty, to express the wishes and gratitude of the Junta, when the King assured them, he had no other view than to promote the happiness of Spain; and that they may depend on the taxes which attach to agriculture.

His Catholic Majesty has made the following

#### APPOINTMENTS.

*Ministers.*—Their excellencies Don Louis Mariano de Urquijo, Secretary of State; Don Pedro Cevallos, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Don Michael Joseph de Azanza, Minister for the Indies; Admiral Don Joseph Massaredo, Minister of the Marine; General Don Gonzalo O'Farril, Minister of War; Don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, Minister of the Interior; Count Cabarrus, Minister of Finance; and Sebastian Pinuela, Minister of Justice.

*Captains of the Body Guards.*—Their Excellencies Duke del Parque, Grandee of Spain; Duke de St. Germain, Grandee of Spain.

*Colonels of Guards.*—Their Excellencies Duke de L'Infantado, Colonel of the Spanish Guards; Prince Castel Franco, Colonel of the Walloon Guards; Marquis d'Ariza, Great Chamberlain; Duke de Hajar, Grand Master of the Ceremonies; Count Ferdinand Nunes, Grand Huntsman; Count Santa Colonia, Chamberlain.

(All Grantees of Spain.)

The following Chamberlains have been appointed to attend his Majesty on his journey :

Their Excellencies Count Orgaz, Grandee of Spain; Marquis Santa Cruz, Grandee of Spain; Duke d'Ossuna, Grandee of Spain; Count Castel Florida, and Duke de Sola-Mayor, Grandee of Spain.



## CHAPTER XV.

*State of the Northern Powers of Europe.—Treaty of Subsidy between Great Britain and Sweden.—War with Sweden and Russia.—Invasion of Finland by the Russians.—Buxhorden's Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Finland.—Military Operations in that Quarter.—Intercepted Correspondence found on the Person of the Russian Ambassador.—Surrender of Sweaborg, &c.—British Troops sent to Sweden under Sir John Moore.—His Arrest and singular Escape.—British Naval Operations in the Baltic.—The Cession of Finland to the Russians, &c.*

WE shall now recall the attention of our readers to the situation of the Northern Powers of Europe, as connected with the events recorded in the former chapters of the present Volume. We have already noticed, in part, the consequences produced by the Treaty of Tilsit, on the respective sovereigns who were included in that Convention, and whose hostile operations still continue to furnish no inconsiderable matter for the historic page.

The conduct of his Swedish Majesty, in viewing with indifference the British attack on Copenhagen, was soon converted into a sufficient pretext for exerting the hostile movements of the Emperor of Russia, and King of Denmark towards him. While at the same time, it afforded England a favourable opportunity, as it was thought, of uniting her resources with those of Sweden, for the happy deliver-



ance of Europe. Accordingly, a Convention was entered into between his Britannic Majesty, and the King of Sweden, which, after refering to the fatal consequences that was likely to result to the latter, from the negociations at Tilsit, and fearing Sweden might be compelled to accede to the French system, and to desert her alliance with England; it was mutually agreed, that Britain should pay to the King of Sweden, the sum of 1,200,000*l.* sterling, in equal instalments of 100,000*l.* *per* month; which sum was to be appropriated to the payment of an additional number of Swedish troops, more than the revenue of that kingdom was equal to raise or maintain, as well as to equip such a part of the Swedish navy, as might be deemed necessary; and in particular, its flotilla.

A separate article of the above Treaty, also provided that Great Britain shall send into the Baltic, whenever the war between Sweden and Russia, or Denmark, shall actually take place, such auxiliary forces as circumstances may require; and expressly declares, that no truce or convention of neutrality should be entered into with the enemy, unless in concert, and by mutual agreement.

Soon after this Treaty was concluded, and before the season of the year had rendered Finland fit for the operations of a campaign, a Russian army, amounting to nearly 40,000 men, crossed their own frontier, and proceeded, without interruption, as far as Helsingfor. In the meanwhile, and before his Swedish Majesty was fully apprized of this hostile movement, and invasion of his territory, the Emperor of Russia issued a formal Declaration to the following effect :

“ That his Majesty the Emperor, having felt indignant at the violence committed by England against the King of Denmark; had notified to the King of Great Britain, that he should not remain insensible to the insult of which England had been guilty against a king, his kinsman, his friend, and the ancient ally of Russia. His Imperial Majesty imparted this resolution to the King of Sweden, in a Note transmitted to his Ambassador, on the 24th of September of the last year.

“ The Treaty which was concluded in 1780, between the Empress Catharine, and the late King Gustavus III. and a second in the year 1800, between Paul and the present King, contain the fixed and repeated resolution to remain firm to this principle, *that the Baltic is an inclosed sea*; and that, therefore, all acts of hostility or violence which might be committed on its coasts, should be resisted by the contracting parties. On these grounds his Imperial Majesty had claimed the co-operation of Sweden against England, for the acts of aggression committed by that power on Denmark; a co-operation which his Swedish Majesty refused, until the coasts of the Baltic should be abandoned by the armies of France, and the German harbours should be opened to English vessels. Yet the object to be obtained, was the aggressing acts of violence, of which England had been guilty, and which had excited the resentment of all Europe. The Emperor demanded the co-operation of the King of Sweden, on the basis of treaties, and which the latter sought to evade on principles alone favourable to England.

“ On the 16th of November, his Imperial Ma-

gesty delivered a second Note, still urging the co-operation of his Swedish Majesty, but without effect. The Emperor, far from reproaching himself for his moderation, took pleasure in using all the means in his power to induce his Swedish Majesty, to return to a system, compatible with the welfare of his States; but his Imperial Majesty could now no longer permit the co-operation of Sweden with Russia and Denmark, as a point which may be left unsettled, more especially as it was evident that the King of Sweden, while he suffered the Russian Notes to remain unanswered, was secretly negotiating a Treaty with the Cabinet of London. His Imperial Majesty, therefore, conceives the welfare of his Empire would be ill assured as long as the King of Sweden, his neighbour, under the cloak of a pretended neutrality, should thus favour the designs of England. He cannot, therefore, allow of her neutrality; but without further delay, is determined to employ all the means which Providence has put in his hand, to preserve the welfare of his Empire, and which he deems it necessary publicly to make known to his Swedish Majesty, and to all Europe. At the same time, the Emperor is still ready to change the steps he has been compelled to take into measures of protection; in the event his Swedish Majesty will attach himself to the cause of Russia and Denmark, in order to exclude the British from the Baltic, until a maritime peace. He concludes by intreating his brother-in-law for the last time, and with sentiments of true friendship, no longer to delay the fulfilment of his engagements, and to adopt a system which becomes the Northern Powers."

The above, which could scarcely be regarded as a declaration of war, was clearly explained as such by the immediate march of the Russian troops into Finland, when Count Buxhovden, General in Chief of the Russian army, issued the following insidious Proclamations.

### PROCLAMATION

TO THE INHABITANTS OF FINLAND.

*“ Good Friends, and Inhabitants of Swedish Finland.*

“ It is with the utmost concern his Imperial Majesty, my most gracious master, finds himself obliged to order his troops under my command to enter your country.—His Imperial Majesty feels the more concerned at taking this step, to which he is compelled by the transactions which have occurred in Sweden, as he has still a lively recollection of the noble sentiments of good neighbourhood, as well as sincere, free, and uncontrolled confidence in the protection of Russia, which the Fins manifested, without fear, at the commencement of the last war, when, without the least cause, and contrary to your constitution, the King of Sweden made an irruption, as unexpected as it was unjust, upon our frontiers.—His present Swedish Majesty, far from joining his Imperial Majesty in his exertions to restore tranquillity, which alone can be effected by the Coalition which so fortunately has been formed by the most powerful States, has, on the contrary, formed a closer alliance with the enemy of the general tranquillity and peace, whose oppressive system and unwarrantable conduct towards his Imperial Majesty, and his nearest ally, his Imperial Majesty cannot by any means look upon with indifference.—It is on this ground, in addition to what his Imperial Majesty owes to the security of his own dominions, that he finds himself forced to take your country under his protection, in order to secure to himself due satisfaction, in case his Royal Swedish Majesty should persist in his design not to accept the just conditions of peace, which have been tendered to him by the Emperor of the French, through the mediation of his Imperial Russian Majesty, in order to restore the blessings of peace, which are at all times the principal object of his Imperial Majesty’s attention.—Good friends, and men of Finland, remain quiet, and fear nothing. We do not come to you as enemies, but as friends and protectors, to render you more prosperous and happy, and to avert from you the calamities, which, if war should become indispensable, must necessarily befall you.—Do not allow yourselves to be seduced to take up arms, or to treat in a hostile manner the troops who are committed to my orders. Should any one offend against this admonition, he must impute to himself the consequence of his conduct, while, on the other hand, those who meet his Imperial Majesty’s paternal care for the wel-

fare of this country, may rest assured of his powerful favour and protection — And as it is his Imperial Majesty's will, that all the affairs in your country shall pursue their usual course, and be managed according to your ancient laws and customs, which are to remain undisturbed, as long as his troops continue in your country, all officers, both civil and military, are hereby directed to conform themselves thereto, provided that no bad use be made of this indulgence, contrary to the good of the country — Prompt payment shall be made for all provisions and refreshments required for the troops; and, in order that you may still more be convinced of his Majesty's paternal solicitude for your welfare, he has ordered several magazines to be formed, in addition to those which are already established, out of which the most indigent inhabitants shall be supplied with necessaries, in common with his Majesty's troops.—Should circumstances occur which require some amicable discussion and deliberation; in this case you are directed to send your Deputies chosen in the usual manner, to the city of Abo, in order to deliberate on the like subjects, and adopt such measures as the welfare of the country shall require.—It is his Imperial Majesty's pleasure, that from this moment Finland shall be considered and treated in the same manner as other conquered provinces of the Russian Empire, which now enjoy happiness and peace under the mild government of his Imperial Majesty, and remain in full possession of the freedom of religious worship, as well as of all its ancient rights and privileges.—The taxes payable to the Crown remain in substance unaltered, and the pay of the public officers of every description continues likewise on its ancient footing.—All this is hereby made known to all whom it does concern, and who are strictly to conform themselves thereto, as well as to whatever else shall be enacted by his Imperial Majesty's Ukase.

Given in Head-Quarters, Fredericksham, the 18th of Feb. 1808.

(Signed)

“BUXHOVDEN.”

### PROCLAMATION

OF THE RUSSIAN GENERAL IN CHIEF, TO THE SOLDIERS IN FINLAND.

“SOLDIERS!

“MY most gracious Emperor has thought it right, for the protection and prosperity of the Fins, to order his troops to enter Finland.—It is his Majesty's pleasure that I am to assure you of his most gracious sentiments towards the inhabitants of this country in general, and towards your soldiers in particular. Your fate is still more to be lamented than that of other Fins, because you are obliged to leave your wives, children, relations, and friends, to fight in an unjust cause. Soldiers! I have my most gracious Sovereign's command to assure you, that such of you as shall lay down your arms, shall be perfectly at liberty to return to their friends and relations, and besides receive two rubles for a musket, one for a sword, and ten for a horse. Can there be amongst you, soldiers, any man who sets so little value upon his happi-



ness and welfare, as not to listen to a proposal so well calculated to secure him a peaceful and happy life under the protection of my most gracious Emperor?

“Head-Quarters, Louisa, 16th (28th) February, 1808.

(Signed)

“BUXHOVDEN.”

The irruption of the Russian troops in Finland, and the incendiary Proclamations which we have just noticed, were already known to his Swedish Majesty, though the Russian Envoy, M. Alopeus, had not made any communications respecting the ultimate views and intentions of his Court. No dispatches from the Swedish Ambassador had arrived since the above events had taken place. Considering, therefore, the Russian Envoy as deprived of his public quality, by the insidious aggression of his Court, as a dangerous enemy, by the revolutionary principles with which that aggression was accompanied, and as an hostage for the safety and liberty of the Swedish Minister at Petersburg, the arrest of M. Alopeus was ordered on the 2d of March.

This measure, though somewhat harsh and premature, was, nevertheless, fully justified by the events that followed soon after. A courier from Petersburg was intercepted on the 7th instant, a mile from Harnosand, with dispatches from that court, to its Minister at Stockholm, that left his Swedish Majesty no room to doubt of the perfidious policy which had been adopted by the Emperor Alexander. In one of these intercepted communications from Count Romanzoff to M. Alopeus, it is stated, that Baron Armfeldt, little satisfied with the treatment he has met with from the King of Sweden, it was thought might be easily wrought upon especially as he is not a Swede, but a ne



of Finland, to desert the cause of his Sovereign, and the interests of the Swedish court; and for this purpose all the advantages most flattering to his ambition, was to be offered to him by the Russian Minister.

Baron Armfeldt, however, stood too high in the confidence and affection of his Swedish Majesty, ever to be suspected of such treachery. In another Letter transmitted from Count Romanzoff to the Russian Minister at Copenhagen, and which was also intercepted at the same time; he observes, "I will not make known his Imperial Majesty's Declaration to Baron de Stedingt, the Swedish Envoy, until some days after the departure of this courier; but, will, in the mean time, confidentially communicate it to M le Baron de Blome, in order that the King of Denmark may be sensible how deeply his Imperial Majesty is engaged in his cause."

As soon as his Imperial Majesty received the intelligence that his Ambassador at Stockholm had been arrested, -he issued a second Declaration, in which, after recapitulating many of the subjects contained in his former one, he expresses his indignation at the violence committed against his prerogative, and the dignity of his crown, by the forcible detention of the Russian Embassy at Stockholm, an act of violence unprecedented in Europe, with the exception of Turkey. The Emperor might use reprisals, but he has preferred to direct his ministers to increase the attention which they have always paid to the Swedish Ambassador, who is still in Petersburgh; and to take care, that should he be inclined to depart, that no unpleasant circumstance should retard his journey. His Imperial

Majesty at the same time, informs all the European Powers, that he considers the former Swedish Finland which his troops could not subdue but by force of arms, as a conquered province, and that he incorporates it for ever with his Empire.

The army which was sent by the King of Sweden to the defence of Finland, was commanded by Count Klingspor, a general of uncommon talents and skill. On him, also, Buxhovden endeavoured to prevail by means of bribery and promise, to betray the cause of his master; but Klingspor remained unshaken in his loyalty and zeal. He returned no answer to the traitorous communications of the Russian General, but very properly transmitted them to Stockholm. Yet, notwithstanding the Swedes were proof against all the weapons of corruption, they were by no means in a situation to oppose, with any prospect of success, the first attacks of their enemies. After some trifling skirmishes, Buxhovden gained possession of Abo, the capital of Swedish Finland, in about a month from his first invasion of that province. The entrance into this town took place in a very formal manner. The province, which, but a short time before the entrance of the Russian forces, in order to compel his Swedish Majesty to join in a league against England, was solemnly incorporated with the Russian dominions. Biorneberg, a strong place, was also captured: in defending it, the Swedish army sustained a considerable loss; and after it was taken, and the Russians had made themselves masters of Abo, Count Klingspor found himself under the necessity of retire

A column of the Russian army, headed by General Tutschkow, were in hopes, however, to be able to outflank the Swedes, and thus cut off their retreat. But by the skill and activity of Klingspor, who, with greatly inferior numbers, and in the face of an army provided with every thing, and assisted by several French engineers, completely defeated their object, by making good his retreat. This retreat continued upwards of 400 English miles, through a country almost without roads, and deeply covered with snow.

Nor were it only his army that Klingspor saved; he preserved all his magazines, stores, and ammunition, and finally succeeded in uniting his harassed and exhausted troops, (which were greatly weakened by the daily skirmishes that took place, while conducting his retreat) with another body of Swedes under command of Count Cronstedt. The Russians, disappointed in their attempt to cut off Klingspor, retired from pursuing him towards the Southern parts of Finland.

The Russians next directed their attack on Sweaborg, a place of great strength; and, which, from its natural position, aided by the works raised for its defence, has been considered by many as the Gibraltar of the North. About the beginning of April its bombardment commenced, but without any material injury to the fortresses or private dwellings. Very few of the garrison were killed or wounded by the attack, and not more than one-third of the ammunition had been expended, when the Swedish Governor listened to terms of capitulation proposed by the enemy.

The nature of these conditions, and the very

short and inadequate defence which had been made, exposed the Governor to some suspicions of treachery, or, at best, it could not fail to involve him in charges of great weakness and want of ability; since, by the first Article, he stipulates to give up the fortress, provided no succours shall be received in the space of a month, by at least five sail of the line. At the same time, he made no communication of his situation, either to the Commander of the Swedish Army, or the Minister of War at Stockholm. In another Article he also assents to the Proclamations issued by Buxhovden, though evidently intended to withdraw the Fins from their allegiance to Sweden, since it is expressly stipulated, that such of them as are disposed to enter into the service of his Imperial Majesty, shall enjoy all the benefits held out by those Proclamations.

The Governor also agrees to surrender all the shipping in the harbour, thus depriving himself of the means of embarking the garrison to the seat of war, while he further consents that such as may be able to reach Sweden, shall not serve against Russia, or her allies. But the most extraordinary Article is that which relates to the Swedish flotilla, which was not only very numerous, but comprised some of the best galleys belonging to Sweden. It is expressly provided, that this flotilla should be restored to Sweden, according to the particular return made thereof, after the conclusion of a peace, in the event that England should also restore to Denmark the fleet which she took last year.

His Swedish Majesty was justly incensed at the conduct of the Governor of Sweaborg, which he

officially declared was of a nature to render him, and all who took any part in the shameful capitulation, unworthy the character of *liege men*, since they have abused his Majesty's confidence, and had acted contrary to the orders they had received. All, therefore, who did not resist this degrading procedure, were henceforth to be dismissed from his Majesty's service, and that of the state.

After the surrender of Sweaborg, the Russians advanced into the North of Finland. In many places, particularly at Wasa, they committed the most atrocious and barbarous cruelties. Buxhovden forbade, under pain of death, the people of Finland from retreating along with the Swedish army. For a short time, however, the Swedes were enabled to act on the defensive, and drive the Russians back towards the South of Finland. These successes were only of a temporary nature; the Russian army having suffered more from want of provisions, than from the partial victories gained over them, were again recruited from the succours they received in the more fertile parts of the province, on the borders of Russia, and once more enabled to advance against the Swedes with very superior force.

Kingspor, after having performed the part of an able and skilful general, found himself obliged to conclude an armistice with the enemy, by which it was agreed, that hostilities in Finland should be suspended, and which were not to be renewed without eight days previous notice. An exchange of prisoners was also agreed upon. The King of Sweden found himself, by his perseverance in the war against Russia, in a difficult situation. He, indeed,

expected from his troops much more than they were able to perform.

The Russians were not only more numerous, but had more frequent opportunities of being supplied and reinforced from the vicinity to their own country, than could be enjoyed by the Swedes. At the same time as his Swedish Majesty had set an example of courage and fortitude, and never had shrunk from the arduous and dangerous duties of his station as a soldier and as a monarch, he claimed an equal display of courage and resolution on the part of his troops. He expressed his dissatisfaction in the strongest manner against his guards, who were chiefly composed of the sons of the most leading characters in the country: but, on refusing to engage an enemy every way superior to them in numbers, were doomed to be broke, as a punishment for their cowardice, and of which not less than 4,000 were obliged to submit to this disgrace. The King, therefore, found himself compelled to give his assent to the armistice which Klingspor had concluded with the Russians.

Nor was his Swedish Majesty more successful in his campaigns against Norway. At first his army succeeded in repulsing some of the unprepared Norwegians, and had advanced beyond the frontiers; but as soon as the peasantry began to unite themselves to the regular troops, they drove the Swedes out of the country, and secured such passes in the mountains as enabled them to repel the future eruptions of the enemy.

In this state of difficulties to which the King of Sweden was exposed, the British Government dis-



patched Sir John Moore, with 14,000 men, to the Baltic, to assist the Swedes; but from some causes, which are at present but imperfectly known, this armament remained for several weeks on board the transports, when they returned to England, without having been of any service to the King of Sweden.

All that has yet transpired respecting this strange circumstance, is, that some difference had arisen between his Swedish Majesty, and the British Commander, respecting the employment of the troops. The King demanded from General Moore the uncontrouled direction of the British forces, in order to employ them in a manner which the English General conceived to be contrary to his instructions; he, therefore, refused to comply, alledging he had been appointed Commander-in-Chief by his Britannic Majesty; and that he could not, therefore, resign it to any other person on earth. On this the King of Sweden observed, that the powers with which the British Government had invested him, were superior to those claimed by General Moore. Sir John then said, "if your Majesty will condescend to produce those orders to me, they shall be punctually obeyed."

This so enraged his Majesty, that he ordered him to be arrested, but the general escaped in the following manner:—Johnson, the English Messenger, was at Stockholm, and had a cart in waiting at a short distance from the city, to which General Moore found access, in the habit of a private gentleman. By this conveyance he arrived at Gottenburgh at five o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday the 29th of June, after an astonishing short journey

of 46 hours. He first visited his apartments at Gottenburgh, for the purpose of ascertaining that his papers had been safely conveyed on board the *Victory*, which, having ascertained, he proceeded along side of that ship, disguised, as he had travelled from Stockholm.

The squadron sent by the British Government into the Baltic, was found more serviceable to the objects of Sweden, than the army under Sir John Moore. The Russian fleet, consisting of 13 sail of the line, besides frigates, were discovered on the 25th of August by the Swedish Admiral, who had along with him two British line of battle ships, commanded by Sir Samuel Hood, and Captain Martin. Pursuit was given by the combined fleet, but from the superior sailing of the British ships, they soon gained on the Swedes, and in the evening the Russian squadron was seen in great disorder, evidently endeavouring to avoid a general action. Early on the following morning, the *Implacable*, Captain Martin's ship, brought one of the enemy's vessels to a close engagement, while the Russian Admiral in vain attempted to bear up with his whole force to repel the attack of the English. After a gallant fight of 20 minutes, the Russian ship was silenced. In the mean time, Sir Samuel Hood was under the necessity of making signals for the *Implacable* to join him, as the main body of the Russian fleet were close upon him. The Russian Commander having ordered a frigate to take the disabled ship in tow, chase was immediately given by the British, who compelled the frigate to cast off her tow, while they used every manœuvre to bring the Russians to a general action. The latter, sen-

sible of their inferior force, and aware of the intentions of the commanders of the combined fleet, took refuge in the port of Rogerswick.

The Russian ship which had been so disabled in the engagement with the Implacable, grounded at the entrance of the harbour, in which situation she was attacked by Sir Samuel Hood in the Centaur; and, notwithstanding, every exertion was made to get her off, she was, after an obstinate resistance, compelled to surrender. Sir Samuel Hood having taken the prisoners out of her, and finding her nearly filled with water, was obliged to set her on fire.

The Russian fleet no sooner entered the port of Rogerswick, then they immediately began to employ themselves in erecting fortifications for their defence; this they speedily accomplished, by removing the cannon from their vessels, and disembarking the artillery they had brought with them from Revel. At first the British Admiral began to entertain some hopes that he should be able to take possession of the port, and the fleet; but, on perceiving the fortifications that had in so short a space of time been erected for its protection, he thought it most prudent, from the dangers to which his fleet must necessarily be exposed, in case the wind blew from a certain point, to raise the blockade.

In the mean time, and when the most sanguine expectation was entertained by the British Admiral of the capture of the Russian squadron, the King of Sweden, who was then in Finland, addressed a Letter to the Emperor of Russia, couched in the strongest language of remonstrance, at the cruel proceedings of his army in Finland.

He also endeavours to excite in the mind of Alexander, the impolicy and injustice of such conduct, as that he was pursuing in the war in which he had engaged, and which he declares must kindle the strongest aversion to the Russian name. Could not the Emperor perceive, that by punishing the inhabitants of Finland for their loyalty and attachment to their legitimate sovereign, and encouraging them to revolt from their duty and allegiance, that he was acting contrary to his true interest; he was shaking the foundation of the throne on which he sat. He then adverts to the situation of the Imperial fleet, and the probability that it would not be able to leave the port of Rogerswick, unless as a conquest.

This Letter, however, produced no effect. Alexander was too much under the influence of Buonaparté, to act on this occasion for himself, or to consult the voice of reason or justice. It was also imagined, that he had more closely united himself to the interests of France, by the conference which had lately taken place between these two sovereigns at Erfurth.

Immediately on the return of Alexander to Petersburgh, after the above meeting, fresh orders were sent to his generals to renew the war in Finland. The Swedes were at first successful, but being opposed by a numerous Russian army which had received reinforcements to the amount of 20,000 men, and 60 pieces of cannon, while the Swedish army were reduced to 7,000, by losses in the field, and sickness. Thus, circumstanced, they were finally forced to open a negotiation, to which the Russians consented with more readiness than could have been

expected, from the considerable advantages they possessed, as may be seen by the following Convention, which was agreed upon, and ratified by the Contracting Powers.

### CONVENTION

BETWEEN THE ROYAL SWEDISH ARMY IN NORTH FINLAND,  
AND the IMPERIAL RUSSIAN ARMY.

By virtue of the powers vested in us, we, the undersigned, have agreed and stipulated the following Articles:—

1. The Royal Swedish army is, immediately after the notification of this Convention, to take up a position along the frontiers of the district of Uleaborg, from Kerni to Porkawara. Kerni, in consequence, remains in the hands of the Russians.

2. The Swedish army is to evacuate the town of Uleaborg, within ten days next ensuing the date of this Convention, and the Russian troops are to take possession of the said town on the 30th of November. The other parts of the country which are to be given up to the Russians, shall be evacuated according to the agreement yet to be concluded between the Contracting Parties.

3. The rear of the Swedish army shall retreat by the route agreed upon, and whatever cannot be removed by the Swedish troops in their retreat, shall be considered as a good and lawful prize.

4. The Swedish army binds itself neither to destroy, distribute among the inhabitants, nor sell the magazines which they shall be necessitated to surrender.

5. The Swedish troops are not to take either from Uleaborg, or other places to be surrendered, any civil officers, nor any articles or goods belonging to the provinces.

6. The Swedish army is to send back all clergymen, civil officers, and inhabitants of the places evacuated by their troops, provided it be done by the desire, or with the consent of the said persons.

7. This Convention shall be ratified by the respective generals in chief of both armies, and the ratifications exchanged to-morrow night.

Baron ALDERCRUTZ, Major-General.  
Count KAMENSKI, Lieutenant-General.

*Olkjocki, Nov. 7-18.*

[Ratified Nov. 8-20.]

CHAP. XVI.

*Affairs of Spain resumed.—Joseph Napoleon's Arrival in Spain.—His Address to the Spaniards.—Proclaimed King of Spain at Madrid.—His sudden Flight from the latter.—Proceedings of the Northern Army.—Battle of Rio Seco.—Gallant Conduct of the Bishop of St. Andero.—Attack on the City of Valencia.—Conduct and Address of the Council of Castile.—Manifesto of the Supreme Junta of Seville, &c.*

THE new Constitution of Spain being settled and approved by the Junta of Bayonne, his new Catholic Majesty next proceeded to make choice of his ministers, and to fill up the principal posts in the civil and military departments of the state. The officers appointed for this purpose were selected from the most ancient and respectable families of the *Grandees*, many of whom seemed no ways unwilling or reluctant to accept of the stations thus assigned them. On entering the Spanish territories, the following proclamation was issued by order of the new King.

DON JOSEPH NAPOLEON, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, AND THE  
CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE, KING OF SPAIN AND THE  
INDIES.

“SPANIARDS!

“ON entering the territories of a people, the government of whom Providence has confided to me, I feel it my duty to explain the sentiments which I entertain.

“In ascending the throne, I rely upon finding among you some generous souls who will second my efforts to restore this people to the possession of their ancient splendour. The constitution, to the observance of which you are about to pledge yourselves by your oaths, secures the exercise of our holy religion, and of civil and political freedom. It establishes a national representation, and restores your ancient *Cortes* in an ameliorated form. It ap-



points a Senate, forming the guarantee of individual liberty, and the support of the throne in critical circumstances, and constituting also an honourable asylum and reward to those who shall have performed signal services to the state.

“The courts of justice, the interpreters of the laws, divested of passion and favour, shall, in pronouncing judgment, be impartial, free, and independent.

“Merit and virtue shall be the only claims to the holding of public offices.

“Unless I am disappointed in my wishes, your agriculture and commerce shall flourish, free from those restraints which have hitherto retarded their prosperity.

“Desirous of ruling according to the laws, I will be the first to give an example of the honour which should be paid to them.

“I enter among you with the greatest confidence, surrounded with those meritorious individuals, who have concealed from me nothing which they have thought necessary for your interests.

“Blind passion, false rumours, the intrigues of the common enemy of the continent, anxious only to separate the Indies from Spain, have plunged some of you into the most dreadful state of anarchy. My heart bleeds at the view of it; but this evil, however considerable it may be, may instantly cease.

Spaniards! only unite around my throne. Conduct yourselves so as that internal disturbances shall not deprive me of that time which I wish to employ in labouring for your happiness, nor deprive me of the means of accomplishing this object. I esteem you enough to persuade myself, that you will make every exertion to obtain and merit that happiness, which is the dearest object of my wishes.

“I, THE KING.

“*Vittoria, July 12.*

“By order of his Majesty, the Minister Secretary of State,

“MARIANO LUIS DE URQUIJO.”

Public rejoicings greeted his Majesty in every place where he arrived. On his road from Miranda to Bribiesca, he received the congratulations of the magistrates of the various towns through which he passed. On reaching Burgos, a triumphal arch had been erected at that entrance of the city, by which he had to come. The garrison were drawn up on both sides the street, and the windows of the houses were most magnificently decorated. Several richly caparisoned chargers were in readiness, in case his Majesty had chosen to enter the city on horseback. Soon after his arrival his Majesty gave audience to

the Archbishop, the Chapter, Intendant Corregidor, the Consulate, the Ecclesiastical College, and Spiritual communities, together with a number of persons resident in the city and environs. Having taken up his residence at the Archbishop's palace, which adjoins the cathedral, his Majesty, soon after the levee, went to see the cathedral, where he was received under a canopy, with all the solemnities justly due, and usually observed with respect to royal personages. On the 26th, at seven o'clock in the evening, his Majesty reached the Capital, where he was received amidst every demonstration of unfeigned loyalty and respect. His arrival was announced by the ringing of bells, and firing of cannon. All the troops were under arms, and the air resounded with the shouts and acclamations of Long live the King. Illuminations for three nights were ordered to be kept in honour of the public entrance of their new Sovereign. The Royal Council of Castile sounded aloud their panegyric on the moderate views of the new King, who had waved his universal right over the public revenues, by making a distinction between the revenue of the crown, and the revenue of the state.

On the 24th, the Supreme Council of the Indies took the constitutional oath of fidelity, when their president, the Marquis Bajamar, pronounced an elegant harangue on that occasion. Adverting to the indubitable signs of affection evinced by the whole nation in favour of his Majesty's person, he enlarged on the advantages that Spain would henceforth enjoy by the accession of the new Sovereign, in preserving their independance, without yielding

those cessions of territory which had been before required of them, on the part of France.

The magistrates of Madrid took great pains to contradict a report, that a conscription was immediately to take place among the young men of that city. His Majesty gave assurances, that so far from contemplating any conscription, he rejoiced that the close connection with the military power of France rendered such a measure wholly unnecessary; and he looked forward to the time, when, secure in the affection of his subjects, he would require no other protection." The assembly of the magistrates then warned the people, to disregard all the insinuations of those, who sought by such idle rumours to disturb them, and enjoined them to confide in the wisdom and beneficence of their new monarch.

On the 25th, Joseph Buonaparté was proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies, with great pomp and solemnity. An immense multitude of people from the city, and its environs, assembled to witness the ceremony; the greatest order every where prevailed. In the evening, admission was given gratis to the three theatres, to which the people went in crowds, but without the least riot or disorder having occurred. His excellency Count del Campo de Alange, gave a splendid entertainment to the members of the different ministerial departments. His Majesty has appointed fourteen members to the Council of State, among whom Don Pablo de Arzibans is appointed to the office of Intendant General of the Police of Madrid and its dependencies. His Majesty has granted to the Count del Campo de Alange, and to his legitimate male issue, the title of Gran-

decree of the First Class, as a proof of his Majesty's consideration of the service that nobleman has performed for the state. Don Joseph Massaredo, Director General of the troops, is also nominated Captain General of the Royal Army. He will possess both these titles united.

His Majesty King Joseph, however, did not long remain in quiet possession of his capital. On hearing of the surrender of Dupont and his army, prisoners of war to General Castanos, and that the latter was directing his march towards Madrid, he conceived it more prudent to retire to Burgos. The reasons assigned for his removal, was the numerous descents made by the English on the coast of Galicia, and the excessive heat of the season, which checked all operations that circumstances might render necessary. His Majesty was, therefore, induced to assemble his troops, and place them in a cooler climate than New Castile, and where, at the same time, they might be supplied with better water. On the 27th, in the evening, the King began to prepare for his departure, having previously put in requisition all the carriages and horses that could be found in Madrid, for the conveyance of his army; but owing to the wilful absence of most of the attendants of the royal carriages, his journey was delayed till the 31st, when he departed on horseback, as he was still unable to put the carriages in motion. In the evening of the same day the gates of the public treasury and bank were forced open by the French, and plundered of all their treasure. Above 14,000,000 of dollars, it is stated, were taken from these buildings. The regalia and plate, belonging to the crown, were also carried off by the

royal fugitive. Nor were the French alone content to avail themselves of all the glorious advantages of pillage, 70 pieces of cannon were spiked, and 2,000 barrels of gunpowder thrown into a large pond.

While things were in this situation, the Patriots were deriving fresh courage and animation from their partial victories over the French. On the 14th of July, a battle took place between the French and Spanish armies, commanded by Generals Lasles and Cuesta, at Rio Seco, near Valladolid, which lasted from eight in the morning, till half past twelve at noon. The French forces consisted of 10,000 infantry, and 2,000 cavalry and artillery, and a large proportion of cannon; that of the patriots, amounted to 14,000 infantry, with only 800 cavalry, 26 pieces of cannon, and a body of peasantry. The ardour and impetuosity of the new levies in the Patriot army were not to be restrained, and, consequently, they fell in upon the French, and in the first onset drove them back, capturing four pieces of cannon which they spiked. The country, however, being open, and the French greatly superior in cavalry and artillery, the patriots were unable to maintain the advantage they had gained; they, however, retreated in good order to Benevente, under cover of the Spanish regiment of carabineers, leaving behind them 13 pieces of cannon. The French suffered so severely, that they were not in a condition to pursue the Spaniards, or to enter Rio Seco till four hours after the battle.

There can be little doubt, that if the impetuosity of the Patriots had been moderated or restrained, they would have, ultimately, succeeded in defeating



the French; at the same time, their deficiency in point of cavalry was much against them. The French knew how to improve these two circumstances in their own favour, and which eventually decided the battle in their behalf. General Blake had so greatly distinguished himself in covering the retreat of the Spaniards, that he was marked out by Marshal Bessieres, as a fit person to be won over to his side. Every inducement was offered him to resign the cause he had espoused, but he could not be prevailed upon to betray his trust. He replied in cool and temperate language, to the several letters addressed to him by Marshal Bessieres, and in which he displayed a firmness and energy of mind not likely to be overpowered by the splendid lures of the French General.

At the commencement of the Spanish insurrection, the Patriots had secured to themselves most of the sea ports in the Bay of Biscay, in order that they might preserve an uninterrupted communication with England. The Bishop of St. Andero, with a spirit and heroism seldom found united in the character of a son of the church, had ventured to come forward to animate and support his countrymen in their glorious struggles for national independence. Nor was he satisfied with the mere exhortations of the pulpit, but set them the example of active and vigorous patriotism.

By his means, and through his exertions, a numerous and well appointed body of men were raised, who marched with him at their head, to encounter the enemy. The object of this reverend commander, was to disperse or destroy all the de-



tached bodies of French troops that were stationed in the neighbourhood of the sea-port towns on the Bay of Biscay. The heroic Bishop was for a while successful; but as the French were sensible of the importance of gaining possession of these parts, the better for keeping out all British succours from the Patriots, as well as for conveying along the coast such supplies and reinforcements as their own army might require, a considerable body of troops were dispatched from Bayonne, who took possession of St. Andero; they did not, however, long remain masters of the place, fearing an attack from General De Ponti, who was marching in that direction to its relief, with a division of 10,000 men from the Asturian army. The French detachment, in hopes to get safely off, evacuated the town, with somewhat more precipitation than they had entered it, but not until they had previously indulged in their accustomed pillage from the inhabitants.

The best appointed, as well as the most formidable detachment of French troops in Spain, was that, which, under the command of Marshal Moncey, directed its march towards the province of Valencia. The inhabitants of this province, though they were not inferior in courage or patriotism to the rest of their countrymen, had not been able to raise a force adequate to oppose the progress of Moncey.

The province of Valencia presents naturally a strong barrier against invasion, more particularly on the side by which it was approached by the French General. These barriers were occupied by some troops of the line, and a considerable body of Valencians. The army of Murcia also took their

position, in a manner that would best enable them to protect their own province, and to support the Valencians. Moncey, however, succeeded in effecting a passage over the mountains, which skirt and defend the province, and immediately advanced to the city of Valencia. The Junta of the province, who were established in this city, as soon as they learnt the advance of the French army, took the most effectual measures for its defence and preservation. They issued orders, that all the inhabitants should instantly repair to the gate of Quarte, against which the chief attack of the enemy was directed, and which was defended by several pieces of cannon, while the entrances to the different streets, were carefully and securely blocked up by logs of wood, and a breast-work for the protection of the artillery, which was posted without the city, was formed of the same materials. After an ineffectual attempt made by the Spanish General to check the enemy, they advanced within a quarter of a league of the city, and dispatched a flag of truce, promising the protection of both persons and property, provided they were permitted quietly to enter and occupy the city. The inhabitants, however, were determined to defend themselves, and to oppose the entrance of the enemy to the last extremity. On this, the French prepared for the attack, which, luckily for the Spaniards, was mostly directed against the gate which had been fortified in the strongest manner. They were drawn up in a broad street, immediately in front of the gate, which afforded the patriots an opportunity of destroying a great number, with but little risk or danger on their side. The gate was accordingly thrown open, when

a most dreadful fire commenced, on the part of the inhabitants, from a 24-pounder, which occasioned considerable havoc among the French, inasmuch that they were compelled to discontinue that mode of attack. In the evening, they renewed their efforts upon another quarter of the city, but with as little success. Two thousand five hundred men of the enemy were found dead round the walls of the city, besides numbers who had fell in the fields. Finding themselves so warmly repulsed, the enemy continued to retreat by the road of Acia, but were pursued by General Count de Cerbellon, and General Caro, whose united force, consisting of armed and unarmed peasants, amounted to upwards of 14,000 men. At the same time, a large body of the patriots posted themselves in the mountains of Novella, with three 8-pounders, so that the French were attacked both in front and rear. In this last action, which was fought ten leagues from Valencia, nearly the whole of the French army was destroyed, with the exception of 2 or 300 horse, who effected their escape. General Moncey had received a severe wound in the arm. One hundred French prisoners were brought from Cuenca to Valencia, who, with those taken in the neighbourhood of the latter place, were all sent to Cartagena. Only a few Spaniards were killed in the attack upon Valencia, though in some of the preceding actions, their loss had proved considerable, particularly at Las Cabrillas, where upwards of 700 Swiss, and nearly the whole of the regiment of Savoy were cut to pieces. The loss of the French in this action, including some few who had been killed previous to it, amounted to 3,000 men. The clergy,

and even the women, rendered themselves extremely useful in the defence of Valencia; the former with muskets and in moving the cannon, the latter in making cartridges, and in collecting missiles of every description to annoy the French, if they had entered the town.

Such patriotism, and the success attending it, could not fail to excite a spirit of emulation in the minds of the inhabitants of Madrid; and although their energies were much depressed, both by the influence of the Junta of Castile, and the presence of Murat's army, they began to feel and to deplore their inactive condition. The Grand Duke of Berg, fully aware of the triumphant events that had taken place in the different quarters of the Kingdom, in favour of the Patriots, and of the impression they had produced on the people of Madrid, thought it prudent to withdraw his forces from the Capital, and to station them on the Reteiro, a hill at a little distance, but sufficiently commanding to protect him from any sudden attack, and for the subjection of the city.

As soon, therefore, as his Majesty King Joseph, and the French army, evacuated Madrid, the Council of Castile resumed the government. This Council had lent its sanction and approbation to the authority of the new Monarch; consequently, it could not possess much, either of the respect or confidence of the Patriots. In order, however, to remove the unfavourable impression made by their conduct, in their tame submission to King Joseph, they judged it expedient to issue a proclamation to the inhabitants of the capital, and to transmit a letter to each of the Provincial Governments in the kingdom. They began their proclamation, by ex-

pressing their confidence that the people of Madrid will not, even at a moment when the armies of Spain are triumphing over the Invincibles of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, judge harshly and prematurely of the principles and conduct of their fellow-citizens. They may be assured, that if there have been any traitors to their Sovereign and their Country, in the Supreme Tribunal, it will be their wish and endeavour, no less than their duty, to detect and punish them. But it was more incumbent on the inhabitants of Madrid, to put themselves upon their guard against those (and they were numerous and active amidst the confusion of the Capital) whose sole object was to grow rich by the plunder of their countrymen. From these characters the city ought to be purified, if it wished to express its gratitude to heaven for the great victories which the Spanish armies had obtained. While the other parts of the kingdom had been exerting their energy and patriotism in the cause of Spain, the Capital had on account of the corruption of its manners, been subject to the most dreadful calamities. But it had now an opportunity of retrieving its character for tranquillity and order, and of expiating its former folly and delusion. The Council of Castile could assure their fellow citizens, that a fair representation would rescue them alike from the imputation of treachery or cowardice. They had been placed in a most arduous situation. Not a few had been led by fraud, or force, far beyond the limits of Spain; yet at a distance from their country, unsupported by the exhortation or the example of their fellow-citizens, and surrounded by the perfidies and insults of their tyrant, they had preserved, unsullied, their loyalty and attachment to



their legitimate Sovereign. It might be difficult to do away the strong presumption of their guilt, since no arts had been left untried, by which their patriotism might be exposed to suspicion. After a very animated apostrophe to the armies, conjuring them to hasten to Madrid for its protection, and where they will be received with the gratitude and joy of their relations and friends, the Council conclude their proclamation, by again adverting to the chief object of their solicitude. They pray that no disturbances may delay the general satisfaction and joy, and fill the city with mourning and lamentation; and call upon the inhabitants to repose confidence in their magistrates, who will speedily and effectually punish all who may be guilty of any excess.

From the nature of this proclamation, it is evident, that the Council of Castile were greatly apprehensive that the people of Madrid, might not only be disposed to reject their authority, but also consider them unworthy the confidence they had heretofore enjoyed, as their submission to the ruling power of France was every way apparent.

Their circular addresses to the several provincial Juntas, likewise displayed the same humble and conciliatory spirit. They profess, in the strongest terms, their uniform and steady attachment to those principles of loyalty and justice to their legitimate Sovereign for which they had ever been distinguished; and declared, that they had even "refused to recognize the King whom the most monstrous perfidy had designated for them, further, perhaps, than circumstances justified." The Council of Castile, therefore, felt assured, that the different



Provincial Juntas would be convinced of the purity and firmness of its principles, and of its determination to support, with all its power, their lawful Sovereign and his rights, being ready to carry into effect such measures as might be deemed most expedient and advisable. With respect to the regulation of the civil government, which the peculiar situation of the country demands, the Council of Castile will confine itself to the indication of a plan, in which it would concur with the greatest satisfaction, viz. that Deputies from it, and all the Juntas, should confer on this important subject, and arrange their measures in such a manner, that what they may determine upon, as necessary for the good of the kingdom, may be carried into execution, with as much expedition, as the great object they had in view, would permit.

The fears of the Council of Castile were well founded, that the Provincial Juntas would not be inclined to yield their confidence to a body of men, who had acted under the impressions of a selfish caution, at a moment when the dearest interests of their country were at stake. In reply to their circular letter, the Juntas of Gallicia, and of some of the other Provinces, expressed their determination to abide by the decision of that of Seville, who, by the soundness of the judgment they had displayed in their various addresses, and the promptness and vigour with which they had directed their military operations, had gained them the esteem of the whole kingdom. It was nevertheless necessary that a Supreme Junta, to act in the name and in the behalf of Spain, should be called; and notwithstanding Madrid might be objected to as the seat of its assem-

bly, from its vicinity to the enemy's forces, yet on many accounts it must be considered as the most proper place.

The Junta of Seville prepared to surrender their functions, when the good of their country, for which they had alone assumed them, no longer required or admitted of their separate and independent exercise. But before they laid them down, they issued, in substance, the following highly important Manifesto. Which commences by observing, "That the defence of their Country, their King, their Laws, and their Religion, and all the Rights of Man, had alike been trodden down and violated, in a manner which is without example, by the Emperor of the French, Napoleon I. who had compelled the whole nation to take up arms, and choose itself a form of government best suited to its difficulties and dangers. In consequence of which Supreme Juntas had been established, into whose hands the rights, and ultimate fate of Spain, had been committed.

The effects have hitherto most happily corresponded with the designs of those who had formed them. The provinces have armed themselves, and have fought, and are still fighting against the French, in behalf of their King, Ferdinand the VIIth, with a valour and constancy of which, neither Greece, nor Rome, nor any other nation of the world, had any idea. The only thing that can impair their strength, or frustrate the object they have in view, is discord and dissension among themselves. Hence the Supreme Junta drew up their Precautions, and which they had communicated in every possible manner

to all the provinces of Spain. Our enemies (say they) are anxious to foment our divisions, Human passions, personal interests ill understood, the ignorance, the weakness, the blindness of men, may, perhaps, without their knowing it, assist the evil designs of our enemies, and thus destroy a beginning so glorious, and facilitate and consummate the entire ruin of Spain. Against this it is our duty, as Spaniards, to guard, and we are always ready to hear the opinions of the other provinces, and to amend our own errors, wherever it shall be shewn we have committed any. One method of escaping from the evils of disunion, was carefully to refrain from all conversations relative to the eventful succession to the crown of Spain. The Cortes of 1789, had already made a final settlement of this, and which ought, in future, to be the rule. It is, therefore, both absurd and dangerous, to dispute about the succession, in cases evidently so remote; and the provinces ought to conform themselves, in this respect, to the general expression, *Hereditary Succession, according to the fundamental laws of the Monarchy*.

But another question had been agitated by the various Juntas of the kingdom, which was likely to involve in it the most serious mischiefs, unless discussed with the utmost moderation and calmness.

This question related to the creation of a Supreme Government, which may unite the sovereign authority of all the provinces, till the restoration of Ferdinand. On this point the Supreme Junta fully expressed their approbation, declaring, that from the beginning to the present time, they were per-

suaded that such a Supreme Government was essentially wanting to the security of the state, and that without it, the country was in danger of being completely ruined by its enemies. Nor were they singular in this instance; various Supreme Juntas, and military chiefs, had already expressed their conviction of this truth. The confidence of the nation, and, consequently, the public funds, and the capitals of individuals, must have a civil government for their support, to which the military may be subordinate. Without the former, the latter would often employ violence, with a view of acquiring that confidence which it could otherwise never attain. Let us not vainly flatter ourselves with notions of Roman dictators, and the other military chiefs of the ancient republics. They were placed under very prudent restraints, and the duration of their authority was limited to a very short period. The dangers of complete despotism and usurpation, kept them in continual alarm, and compelled them to take very rigorous precautions, which are very incompatible with the habits of modern times. Spain has derived a lesson from the history of past ages. She has never thought of appointing a military dictator.

But who is to create this Supreme Civil Government?—who are to compose it?—where shall be its place of residence?—what the extent of its authority? How shall it be established without interrupting the public tranquillity, and producing disunion among the provinces? How is the public opinion to be so regulated, as, without opposing it, this tranquillity shall be attained, and all risk of disturbance obviated? These are important and

serious questions, which we shall now proceed to examine, solely influenced by our anxiety to promote the welfare of our country.

We have been told, that the old Council of Castile should convoke the Cortes, and the whole of the proceedings should be executed under its authority.

The Council of Castile, though a lawful assembly, never convoked the Cortes. Why, then, should we give it an authority it does not possess? Is it because it lent the whole weight of its influence to such important changes, with regard to which it had no powers, nor any authority whatsoever? Is it because it has acted in opposition to those fundamental laws, which it was established to preserve and defend? Is it because it afforded every facility to the enemy to usurp the sovereignty of Spain, to destroy the hereditary succession to the crown, and the dynasty legally in possession, in order to seat on the throne a foreigner, destitute even of the shadow of a title to it; for it is manifest that the renunciation of Charles the IVth in his favour, gave him no such claim? What confidence could the Spanish nation place in a government created by an authority invalid and illegal, and *which had also rendered itself suspected by the previous commission of acts of so horrible a description, that they may be justly ranked with the most atrocious enemies against the country.*

The Council of Castile being thus excluded from all consideration, who should convoke the Cortes, the authority to convoke them is a part of the peculiar and exclusive prerogative of the King. To any other authority the provinces would not submit.

In this situation, in which the kingdom found it-



self suddenly without a government—a situation equally unknown to the history and the laws of Spain—the people legally resumed the power of appointing a government. In the Juntas, therefore, thus created by the people, the Supreme Power is deposited, and in virtue of that power they have governed, and do govern with real authority. It is, therefore, incontestible, that the Supreme Juntas have the sole and exclusive right of electing those who are to compose the Supreme Government, as the only means of protecting and preserving the Kingdom which has been entrusted to them for that purpose. And whom shall the Supreme Junta elect? Most certainly individuals of their own body, for they alone derive their power from the people, and it is in their constituent members that the people have reposed their intire confidence. Hence, if there be any province, in which the military power has alone been retained, results the absolute necessity of constituting Supreme Juntas, in which the power of the people shall reside, and by which they may act, in order *that the concentration of the legitimate power of the people, and the establishment of a Civil Government,* shall proceed from the free choice of those who possess the confidence of the people, as under the present circumstances, no Supreme Government can be legitimate, *unless it has its origin in the free consent of the people.*

It seems, then, to be indispensibly necessary, that all the Supreme Juntas, meeting on the same day, should each elect, from among their own members, two Deputies, to form the Supreme Government; and the person so elected should, from the moment,



be reputed and actually be respected, as the Governors General of the Kingdom, and as such they should be universally acknowledged and obeyed.

The Supreme Juntas will, in the first instance, appoint a place which shall be the seat of the Supreme Government, and which ought to be at a distance from all dangers of war ; and should, as a claim to preference, possess other advantages of a local nature. Seville conceives herself to possess all those advantages, but has no anxiety to be selected ; for she will most cordially sacrifice all her claims to what the other Supreme Juntas shall decide to be for the general prosperity of the kingdom.

The Junta of Seville concluded their Manifesto, by a spirited refutation of the calumnies and falsehoods by which they have been attacked, and by a candid appeal to those services which they had rendered their country.



## CHAP. XVII.

*Remarks on the Spanish Character, as connected with the Events of the present War.—State and Influence of the Spanish Clergy.—Cruelties of the Insurgents towards the French, as well as their own Countrymen.—Disposition of the French and Spanish Armies.—Address to the Biscayans.—Capture of Bilboa by the French, and re-taken by the Patriots.*

NOTWITHSTANDING Spain contains a great number of enlightened characters, who, actuated by a laudable desire to see their country rendered prosperous and happy by a legitimate form of government, and freed from the abuses to which it has so long been subject, yet, it also abounds with many persons, who, under the mistaken influence of a religious zeal, are ready to commit every excess in defence of its antient superstitions. Not less than one-third of the kingdom is in possession of the Secular Clergy, who, equally ignorant and indolent, exercise the most unbounded authority over the minds of the lower orders of the people, and to whom the latter owe every stimulus and incentive to love or to hatred.

From the evil of fanaticism, has sprung the destruction of morals, and it is only necessary to encourage the progress of the former, in the way it has heretofore existed, in order to revive all the exorbitant powers, and dreadful effects of the Inquisition. The monks being extremely numerous, only atone for the rigid celibacy they observe, by every species of mental and sensual debauchery. The conscience, seared by the practice of absolu-

tion, becomes reconciled, it has been said, to the strangest of all phenomenons, “theoretic piety and practical vice, united in bonds almost indissoluble.”

Spain has been computed, by most writers, to contain 11,000,000 of inhabitants, but Feyjoy, a Spanish writer, estimates the population at only 9,250,000. It contains 144,616 square miles, which, taking the largest estimate of its population, leave about 76 inhabitants to a square mile, while France yields 178, and England 169. This striking defect, in a country at one time the most populous in Europe, has been ascribed to two causes; the numerous emigrations to America, and the indolence of the natives, who will not labour to procure by husbandry and agriculture, subsistence for their families, while the despotism of the government, and the power of the ecclesiastics, has tended greatly to impoverish the fertility of the soil, and to lessen the population, as well as the spirit of industry of its inhabitants. According to the returns made to the government, a few years ago, the Spanish Clergy stand as follows:

|                                                                          |        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Parochial Clergy.....                                                    | 16,689 |
| Assistants.....                                                          | 5,771  |
| Sextons (Sacristans) .....                                               | 10,873 |
| Acolitos, persons who assist at the altar.....                           | 5,503  |
| Ordinados de patrimonio, having a patrimony<br>of three reals a day..... | 13,244 |
| Ordinados de menores, with inferior officers...                          | 10,774 |
| Canons of Cathedrals, called Beneficiados.....                           | 23,692 |
| Monks .....                                                              | 61,617 |
| Nuns.....                                                                | 32,500 |
| Beatas .....                                                             | 1,130  |
| Syndics, persons who collect for the Mendicants                          | 4,127  |
| Inquisitors .....                                                        | 2,705  |

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Total 189,625

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The Archbishoprics are eight; Bishoprics 46. The most opulent see is that of Toledo, which is supposed to yield annually 100,000*l*. Thus, taking the larger estimate of population before mentioned, the ecclesiastics and persons holding offices under the church in Spain, are, in proportion to the whole population, as one to 58 nearly! and, notwithstanding this host of clergy, it is allowed by all who have had a favourable opportunity of estimating the characters and manners of the inhabitants, that *there is as little true moral religion in Spain, as in any country under heaven.*

The fanaticism of the Spaniards, their absurd confidence in the intercession of saints, and their childish and foolish partiality to relics, are almost beyond belief. In Catalonia every company of artisans, and every ship that sails, is under the immediate protection of some patron. Besides folio volumes, which testify the innumerable miracles performed by our Lady in Montserrat, every subordinate shrine is loaded with votive tablets. This has been the parent of presumption, and among the merchants has brought many families to want. The companies of insurance in the American war, *having each of them its favourite saint*, such as *San Ramon de Penaforte*, *La Virgen de la mercea*, and others, associated in form by articles of partnership, and named in every policy of insurance; and having, with the most scrupulous exactness, allotted to them their correspondent dividend, the same as to any other partner, they concluded, that, with such powerful associates, it was not possible for them to suffer loss! Under this persuasion, they ventured, about the year 1799, to insure the French

West Indiamen at fifty *per cent.* when the English and Dutch had refused to do it at any premium. By this fatal stroke, all the insuring companies, except two, were ruined. The government of Spain, as is well known, is the most despotic in Europe; the nobility enjoy great privileges: no *grandee* can be apprehended for any crime without an order from the King. The Cortes, or Parliaments, which formerly, especially in Castille, had greater power and privileges than those of England, are now abolished, and no vestige of liberty, to guard the people from the tyranny of their superiors, is found to exist in this once free and independant country.

Having noticed in the preceding chapter, the partial success of the Patriots, in their several actions with the French army, we feel it incumbent on us to pay some attention to the official statements made by order of the Emperor of France, respecting those military operations.

Much blame and censure has been attributed to the English faction, in promoting, for their own interest, that spirit of revolt which has been so generally manifest in all the provinces of Spain. To this faction, Buonaparté has ascribed the disposition of the Spaniards to throw off their alliance with France; and has imputed to them, and their artifice, all the evils and disorders that have resulted to the Spanish monarchy. At the same time, these statements deprecate the folly and blindness, as well as the superstitions of the Spaniards.

They observe, that miracles were solemnly proclaimed at Saragossa, Valladolid, Valentia, Se-

ville, &c.; which juggles were only calculated to dishonour religion, notwithstanding they were most cordially and sincerely believed by a great body of the people, for whose *deliverance*, or rather misguidance, they were wrought. A party on the sea coast, known from their long hatred to France, had excited the people to make a common cause with England, in order to procure the freedom of commerce, while they affected to participate in all those superstitious errors, by which the minds of the more vulgar had been inflamed. From this disposition, sprung the most fatal disorders. The Councillor of State, Don Miguel Saavedra, who was also Captain General of Valencia, in endeavouring to appease the views of the Insurgents lost his head, which was placed on a pike, and carried round all the streets, and finally placed on the top of a pillar; while the Marquis d'Enerva, who was threatened with the same fate, had the good fortune to escape the fury of the mob.

The crew of a French ship, which, being chased by an English frigate, sought protection in a Spanish port, where, however, they were imprisoned, and in a transport of rage put to death. The Junta, who were compelled to sanction these proceedings, on pain of death, formally complained of the author of these cruelties, consigning him to general detestation, and particularizing him by the name of Balthazar Calbo, an attendant upon the altar, and a member of the chapter of St. Isidro, at Madrid.

At Cuenca, the Corregidor and Intendant were put in irons, and carried off by the riotous peasantry, who, before their departure, pillaged the



houses of these two worthy magistrates, and treated their families with the greatest cruelty

At Carthagena, the people put to death the Governor, who had for a long period, enjoyed the esteem of all ranks.

At Grenada, General Truxillos, the Governor of Malaga, was put to death by the inhabitants, who dragged his body through the streets, hacked it in pieces, and afterwards consigned it to the flames.

At Algesiras, the French Consul was imprisoned, and a mutinous rabble demanded his head, but the firmness of the better disposed inhabitants, prevented this additional atrocity.

At St. Lucar, de Baramaida, the Governor of the place, a general of distinguished rank and merit, was massacred by the people.

At Jaen, the peasantry compelled the citizens to abandon their houses and property, killed the Corregidor, and plundered the town.

Seville, having planted the standard of insurrection, formed a Junta of Insurgents, and a corps of soldiers from St. Roche and Cadiz, who, seduced by the great pay promised them, repaired to their standard. The first proof afforded of their prowess, was the murder of Count de Aguila, one of the worthiest men in Seville. A Captain of smugglers was appointed Commander-in-Chief of a body of monks, deserters, and smugglers.

At Carolina, the Corregidor who wished to repress the tumult, was beheaded by the people. Occurrences no less horrible, took place in the provinces of Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia.

At Saragossa, the peasants shot the Colonel of the King's regiment of dragoons, and 33 officers of

their party, against whom they mutinied, were put to death in the most cruel manner. The same rancour against all authority, and every person invested with a public character, produced events no less cruel in Estremadura and the Castiles.

At Badajoz, the Insurgents demanded that they should be embodied and armed, when the Governor and Bishop, presented themselves at a balcony, admonishing the multitude to return to a state of tranquillity. The more furious among them would listen to no advice, but rushing into the palace, seized on the person of the Governor, and having dragged him as far as the Palmas-gate, put him to death in a most shocking manner; then stripping the body, presented it, bleeding, to his wife, while they were engaged in plundering the palace.

At Valladolid, in pursuance of an order from General Cuesta, Don Miguel Ceballos, General of Engineers, was thrown into the prison of Carbonero, but the Insurgents having forced him from thence, hewed him to pieces on the Campo Grande, in the presence of his wife and children; and tearing him joint by joint, carried his several limbs in triumph through the streets.

At Alavera, the Corregidor attempted to punish some of the rioters, but they demanded his head; owing, however, to the courage of a few brave individuals, he had the good fortune to escape with his life.

The provinces of Leon and Asturias, were, at the same time, the theatre of scenes equally bloody.

At Corunna, General Filanqueira endeavoured to pacify the peasantry by mild measures, but he would

have been killed by a musket-shot, had not an artillery officer placed himself before his person, and thus saved his life. On the following day, the Insurgents got possession of his palace, which they destroyed, while the Governor fled for an asylum to the cloister of St. Domingo.

At Ferrol, the house of the Lieutenant-general of Marine, Obreson, was plundered; and that officer being discovered in the manufactory of Isquiendo, was thrown into the prison of St. Anthony. In the province of Leon, the peasantry entered into several cities, towns, and villages, beheading many of the most respectable burghers. Among whom was the Governor of Corunna, the Corregidor Leon, and Count Castro Fuerte, Colonel of the militia of Valto, who, it is said, were delivered into the hands of the executioner by General Cuesta.

Every where those, who, from their worth, rank, virtue, or fortune, possessed any share of esteem, became victims to these riotous proceedings, while the committees of insurrection made themselves masters of the public treasure, and spread the reign of terror among all the well disposed inhabitants.

The ministers, and members of the Junta of Madrid, and the commissioners of the government, employed every means of pacification, but their efforts were unavailing, and they were unable to bring back to obedience an ignorant and fanatical people, led astray by superstition and artifice, and who abandoned themselves to the seductive power and allurements of plunder.

Such was the agitation, such the inevitable result of a state of insecurity, into which a bad

government had plunged the Spanish nation. It was prepared and excited into activity by the artifices of England, and the perversion of public opinion, arising from the concurrence of political and party feelings, encouraged by the higher powers. It was, therefore, necessary for France to have recourse to arms, in order to repress these excesses, and to strike a terror into the evil disposed.

For this purpose, Marshal Bessieres had directed several detachments towards Logronno, Saragossa, Segovia, Valladolid, and St. Andero, who, though inconsiderable in number, had every where proved themselves successful.

The town of Logronno was in a state of insurrection, and chose for its commander a stone mason, known to be one of the worst characters in the district. General Verdier having received orders to march thither with two battalions, surrounded the place, and put the Insurgents to flight, having taken from them six pieces of bad artillery.

The above official representation of the French military operations in Spain, proceeds further to shew the false and exaggerated accounts which have been published and circulated in England, respecting the success of the Insurgents.

It states, that the French having entered Spain as friends, and having acted in concert with the Ministers, and the Councils, and the principal Burghers, were unwilling to disarm the Spanish troops, and for a long time restrained themselves from any sort of hostilities, but the result has made it appear how fatal this generosity has proved to the French.

In adverting to the several battles that had taken place between the Insurgents, and the troops of Buonaparté, it appears, with the solitary exception of the surrender of Dupont's army, that the French were almost uniformly victorious.

The different armies of Buonaparté in Spain and Portugal, in the months of July and August, according to the most accurate and moderate calculation, amounted nearly to 100,000. Of these, 20,000, the original force under Dupont, was stationed in the Southern division of the kingdom. Bessieres and Lassalles, with upwards of 25,000 men, occupied the rear of the provinces of Asturias and Biscay, on the plains of Castile. The defeat of Cuesta at the battle of Rio Seco, and the subsequent junction of their respective armies under Generals Montou, Dasmagnae, and others, enabled Bessieres to proceed towards the frontiers of Portugal, for the purpose of liberating the force under Junot. This force which was inadequate to any offensive movements against Spain, amounted, at least, to 20,000 men. During the early operations of Marshal Bessieres, disturbances had also broken out in the Southern extremities of Navarre and Arragon. General Lefebvre advanced from Pampeluna, at the head of 3,000 men, consisting of light troops of the first regiment of the Vistula. He advanced towards Teudela, where a body of from 3 to 4,000 men arrived from Saragossa. He attacked and routed them, taking from them six pieces of cannon. Having punished the chief of the Insurgents, he caused the bridge over the Ebro, that had been destroyed, to be replaced.

The English cruizers having landed some emis-



saries at Bilboa, the people of that city were excited to take up arms. General Merlin marched against that place with two squadrons of cavalry, and two regiments of infantry; and having carried two monasteries by storm, disarmed the Insurgents, and re-established the government of the province. The loss of the Insurgents amounted to 500 men, while that of the French consisted only of three killed, and twelve wounded. Such is the abstract of the events of the campaign in Spain, as recorded in the official papers of France.

Although the defeat of Dupont had occasioned a retrograde movement of the different corps of the French troops in Spain, yet, as soon as these had formed a junction with each other, on the confines of Navarre, they did not seem inclined to push their retreat any further. Joseph Buonaparté continued with the army, but its chief command was committed to the hands of Marshal Bessieres. About the beginning of September, the French head-quarters were at Logronno, while, at the same time, the different corps of the Patriots were endeavouring to unite, in order to compel the French beyond the Pyrennees. The occupation of the line of the Ebro, was anxiously sought and contended for by both armies, as it afforded some of the best positions, as well for attack as resistance. The French force consisted about this time of 40,000, that of the Spaniards might probably reach 100,000, which was under the joint command of Palafox, Castanos, and Blake. General Reding was stationed at Guadarama. The army of Valencia, and Murcia, amounting to 24,000, about the beginning of Oc-



tober, took up its station near Tudela, in the neighbourhood of which were 20,000 Frenchmen; these endeavoured to make up for their inferiority in point of numbers, by occupying the strongest positions on the Ebro, connected with their garrison and fortress at Pampeluna. It was the plan of the Spanish Generals, if they could possibly effect it, to surround their enemy; or, by breaking his line, force him to an unequal engagement. As the first object appeared most within the power of the Spanish army, they had recourse to many attempts to accomplish it. Palafox and Blake, who commanded the Eastern and Western wings, pushed forward, so as to throw the whole of the Spanish army into the form of a crescent, the points of which extended beyond the flanks of the enemy. While these two Generals thus manœuvred, they trusted to the main and centre force under Castanos, in routing the centre of the French. It was soon, however, discovered, that the latter greatly surpassed the Patriots in point of generalship, who, notwithstanding their superiority of number, were unable to make any impression on the centre of the French, or to outflank them in such a manner, as to compel their retreat. To whatever movement the Spanish Commanders directed their attentions, the foresight and skill of their opponents, constantly opposed obstacles to their success, and rendered their schemes abortive.

The French, it is true, found themselves under the necessity of quitting Burgos, which they had taken possession of a second time after their retreat, in order to concentrate their forces between Vittoria and Pampeluna. But, within this space

on the North side of the Ebro, in a country naturally favoured, from the number of rivers with which it is intersected, they bade defiance to the superior force, and the various manœuvres of the Spanish Generals.

Blake appears to have executed his project of outflanking that part of the enemies force, which were opposed to him, far better than Palafox, who commanded the opposite wing, notwithstanding the former was so extremely deficient in cavalry.

For several weeks the two armies continued thus situated, while the French had the ocean on their right, the province of Arragon on their left, and the Ebro in the front of them. Within these circumscribed limits, their sole object was to repel any attacks that might be made upon them, and to guard against such attempts as the Spaniards were constantly endeavouring to make in order to surround them. About the middle of October their forces were disposed in the following manner: at Bilboa they had 14,000 men; at Orozes 10,000; at Vittoria 13,000; at Kasia 6,000; at Milagro 5,000; at Olite 3,000; in the fortress of Pampe-luna they had nearly 7,000; and in Lutz, which they had intrenched, there was a force of 3,000. From this enumeration it will clearly appear that reinforcements had already been sent them. At the same time the Spanish army were still extended beyond the wings of the French, who appeared to be, from the nature of the country, completely within the power of the Spaniards. The Western, or Gallician army which was stationed at Guennes, near Bilboa, amounted to nearly 8,000 men; and at

Luyando and Valmosed were two other divisions, forming together not less than 16,000 men. At Orduna a smaller division of 3,000 men were stationed, while the city of Burgos, in the rear of the army, was occupied by 4,000; the van of the Gallician army, consisting of about 7,000, had pushed themselves beyond Bilboa, with the intention of cutting off the communication between different parts of the French forces. The Gallician army, therefore, by this statement, amounted to nearly 40,000 men. The main body of the army of Castile, consisting of 10,000 men, was stationed at Medina and Frias, while the van of 4,000, occupied the left bank of the Ebro at Espejo. The armies of Arragon and Valeneia, under the command of Palafox, were stationed near Saragossa, with the double view of protecting that town and co-operating with the other two armies of Spain. The army of Estramadura, amounting to 13,000 men, was stationed at Aranda.

Such was the disposition and inactive state of the two armies down to the middle of October. A few weeks at most might, perhaps, have decided the fate of Spain, and freed them from the yoke of their new master; but the Patriots were unwilling to hazard a general action. This appears to have been strictly conformable to the celebrated Precautions issued by the Junta of Seville, which only recommended the cutting off the supplies, and harrassing the detached parts of the enemy's army, as the safest and most prudent manner the Patriots could adopt. We shall forbear to offer any comments of our own, on the apparent want of skill and energy on the part of the conduct of the Spanish generals,

in not leading their troops into a general engagement, at a period when their superiority in numbers alone, must almost have insured them success. The Precautions even of the Junta of Seville ought to have been superceded on such an occasion; as it is clearly evident the observance of them, at such a juncture, could not fail greatly to interfere with the laurels of victory, that might, otherwise, have been so easily reaped by the Spanish general.

Spain had now collected all her force, and yet was unwilling to exert it for the deliverance of the country, from the greatly inferior numbers and presence of a French army. If the Patriots were unable to drive the remains of the French army beyond the Pyrennees, or compel their retreat, after they had once concentrated their troops, and taken up what they had deemed a strong and secure position, what could be expected from them when Buonaparté, at the head of a superior force, should enter that kingdom, and carry on the war in person. When, therefore, the time passed away without any thing effectual being done by the Patriots, when the comparatively small army of 40,000 or 60,000 Frenchmen seemed to bid defiance to the united force of the Patriots, it cannot be wondered at if many who were sanguine in the cause of the latter, should feel greatly cast down and dispirited as to what might prove the unfortunate result of their winter campaign.

But the months of September and October were not, however, totally devoid of some military operations, although they were not so highly important to the glory and interest of the Patriots. The province of Biscay had hitherto been restrained,

until the evacuation of Madrid, and retreat of the French armies, from taking any share in the measures of the Patriots. As soon, however, as their enemy abandoned the Capital, the inhabitants of the above province, who are a brave and warlike people, formed a Junta. This junta addressed a spirited proclamation to the Biscayans, in which it appeals forcibly to the unhappy circumstances in which they had been placed, and which had hitherto precluded them from offering their services in defence of the rights of the Spanish nation. But a period had at length approached when the youth of the province, full of holy ardour, were flocking to the standard of patriotism; and chiefs, every way worthy to lead them, would soon be placed at their head. The noble achievements of their ancestors were set before them, in order to animate their patriotism. The repulse of the Carthaginians at one time, and destruction of the Roman hosts at another, were appealed to as examples of their former courage and bravery. With such examples of the heroism of their ancestors, the people of Biscay could not be inactive or cowardly in their Country's cause, but would prove that they were the worthy descendants of those, who had so honourably signalized themselves, and whose exploits are recorded in history. But if they wished to benefit their country, it was absolutely necessary they should be as conspicuous for their discipline and obedience, as for unity among themselves. They had but one interest, consequently, they ought to have but one feeling and one object in view. The religion of their forefathers, the country from which they derived their existence, and the sovereygn who had been placed



over them by the constitution and laws, all demanded their support ; and when such important claims on their valor and patriotism existed, the people of Biscay would not be found backward or deficient.

Such an address, accompanied as it was, by the active and patriotic spirit of the people, in a part of Spain, scarcely liberated from the presence of the French, and still exposed to their incursions, was not likely to escape with impunity. Soon after it was issued, Bilboa, the principle port of Biscay, was entered by a detachment of French troops from Vittoria, amounting to 6,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry. It was obliged to surrender by capitulation, but, contrary to the terms which were granted it, the French plundered its inhabitants. The city continued in possession of the French till the middle of September, when it was retaken by a division of General Blake's army, under the command of the Marquis Portaygo. The French garrison would, probably, have been captured, had not some of the advanced posts of the Spaniards forced upon them, before the main army was sufficiently advanced and prepared for the attack. The Spaniards displayed considerable courage, and the loss of the French amounted to about 400 men. The inhabitants were quite overjoyed in being freed from the power of their enemy and restored to their country's cause ; but their joy was not of long continuance. The French deemed the place of too much importance to suffer it to remain for any length of time in the possession of the Patriots. Marshal Ney, who had taken upon himself the command of the French army in Spain, about the latter end of September ; soon directed his efforts towards the recapture of



Bilboa, and of securing the Spanish force which was stationed in it, but the latter, aware of the intention of the French General, quitted the place, and retreated to Balsnaseda.

As soon as General Blake was informed of the re-capture of Bilboa, he took measures to advance against it with such additional force, as should compel the French again to abandon it. He accordingly advanced against it with nearly the whole of his army, a detachment of which, took possession of it on the 12th of October.

The French, however, conducted their retreat with little loss, although by such retreat, General Blake was once more enabled to resume a position highly important to the operations of the Patriots.

On the subject of the affairs of Spain, the reports of the War Minister of France, have been equally energetic and copious. In one of these reports addressed to Napoleon, at Bayonne, his Imperial Majesty is told that Spain can never become a sincere and faithful ally to France, nor can the war against England be continued with the hope of arriving at peace, until the houses reigning in France and Spain, shall be for ever united.

The dynasty that governs Spain, through its affection, its recollection, or its fears, will always prove a secret enemy to France; an enemy the more perfidious, because, pretending to be friendly only when France is victorious, she will be the more ready to desert her when those victories become the less certain. What policy suggests, justice authorizes. Spain is in a state of war with your Imperial Majesty, not only by her alliance and commerce with England, but by her hostile

Proclamations. Will your Majesty then consent to leave on the throne, a prince who cannot withdraw himself from the yoke of England, and which must constantly oblige your Majesty to keep on foot a powerful army in Spain.

If, on the other hand, your Majesty determines to replace Charles IV. on the throne, this cannot be done but at the expence of shedding French blood; and of which, though the nation is prodigal in defence of its own interest, it will not so easily submit to, in behalf of a foreign King, whose fate is of no consequence to France.

A second report proceeds to observe in the like vigorous tone, that the most rigid measures are necessary on the part of his Imperial Majesty, for the preservation of his power and authority over Spain. It states, that the troubles which have manifested themselves in that kingdom, excited the solicitude of his Imperial Majesty, who, in order to prevent and repress them, had indulged in every persuasive means to restore the public tranquillity; and, while he acted as a mediator in the midst of the divided Spaniards, he sought only the happiness and felicity of Spain. He had already provided them with a Constitution, of which they stood in so much need, and which was so happily framed, as at once preserved their ancient Institution, and removed the abuses of their former government. But, how has this boon been accepted? The expectations of your Majesty have been deceived. The salutary restraints which keep the people in submission, by operating on their true interests, has been unhappily burst; and every evil that can flow

from anarchy and confusion, has every where superseded the voice of a regular and well ordered government. English gold, and the agents of the Inquisition, who were afraid of losing their authority, the influence of the numerous tribes of Monks in Spain who dreaded reform, have all contributed to the popular insurrections which has been seen to diffuse themselves so widely over that kingdom. Will your Majesty permit England to be able to say, "Spain is one of my provinces, my flag, driven from the Baltic, the North Sea, the Levant, and even from the Shores of Persia, rules in the ports of France?" No, never, Sire. To prevent so much shame and misfortune, 2,000,000 of brave men are ready to scale the Pyrennees, and chase the English from the Peninsula. If the French fight for the liberty of the sea, they must, in order to conquer, begin by wresting Spain from the influence of the tyrants of the ocean. If they fight for peace, they cannot obtain it, until they have chased from Spain the enemies of peace.

If your Majesty, embracing the future, as well as the present, aspires to the noble object of leaving after you, your Empire calm and tranquil, and surrounded by powerful friends, you must begin, by securing its influence in Spain.

Lastly, if honour is the prevailing sentiment, as well as the foremost object of Frenchmen, your Majesty must promptly inflict vengeance for the outrages committed on the French name, and the atrocities to which so great a number of our countrymen have fallen victims. Frenchmen settled in Spain more than 20 years, exercising in peace their useful industry, and almost regarding Spain as their

country, have been massacred. Every where French property has been seized. The Consular agents of your Majesty, have experienced a treatment which would not have been permitted even in the most barbarous countries. What will be the sullied state of the French character, if, in a country so near to them, atrocities so infamous, and so public, remain unpunished. Reparation ought to be had, but a reparation consonant to the glory and valour of Frenchmen.

It is no small advantage, the probability at length of meeting the English, and fighting them man to man; of making them also feel the evils of war, of a war of *the dangers of which they are ignorant*, having only caused it by their gold.

The English will be beaten, destroyed, dispersed, or, at least, they will make haste to fly, as they did at Toulon, at the Helder, at Dunkirk, in Sweden, and wherever the French armies have had to contend with them. But their expulsion from Spain will be the ruin of their cause. This last check will exhaust their means, and by finally extinguishing their hopes of success, peace will be more sincerely desired by them. The wishes of all Europe, will, in this contest, be on the side of France.

France and Russia make common cause against England. Denmark supports with honour, a contest she did not provoke. Sweden betrayed, and abandoned by an ally to whom an insane Cabinet has sacrificed her, has already lost her most important provinces, and is *hastening to that ruin which is the inevitable effect of alliance and friendship with England*.

Such will be the fate of the Insurgents of Spain. When the war becomes serious, the English will abandon that country, making to its inhabitants the sad bequest of a civil war.

This report further adds, that the Court of Vienna still remains faithful to its engagements with France, in having shut her ports against England and in placing herself in a state of hostility with that power. At the same time, its armaments are complained of, as being out of all proportion to its population and finances. The latter remarks was urged with a view, that his Imperial Majesty might perceive the necessity of augmenting his force, for the purpose of still preserving the relative superiority which exists between the power and population of the two Empires.

It highly commends the policy of the Americans, *(a people who involve their fortune, prosperity, and almost their existence in commerce )* for their spirited inhibitions, of all commerce and navigation rather than shamefully submit to that tribute which the English impose upon the maritime rights of all nations.

The report concludes in the following words: "That peace is the wish of the world, but England opposes it, and England is the enemy of the world; not alone the French nation, but all Europe is acquainted with the efforts made by your Majesty to obtain peace. and that the ill success of these efforts, have alone produced those enterprizes which have every where crowned the armies of France with the wreath of victory, and which still animate them with the hopes of reaping that harvest of glory and of honour, which your Majesty has prepared for them."



# CHAP. XVIII.

*Situation of Portugal at the breaking out of the Spanish Insurrection.—French driven from Oporto.—Junot disarms the Spanish Troops in Lisbon.—His Proclamation to the Inhabitants.—Formation of a Junta at Oporto.—Its Proceedings.—Address of the Fathers of the Church.—Portuguese Deputies sent to England.—Proclamation of the British Admiral, Sir Charles Cotton.—Fortifications at the Entrance of the Tagus.—Operations of the British Army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, &c.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the Portuguese had suffered the Prince Regent, and the Court, with its dependants, quietly to leave the kingdom, and remove to the Brazils, it does not appear that they were satisfied with the government allotted to them by Buonaparté. Frequent disturbances took place, not only in the Capital, but in various provinces of Portugal, which was greatly augmented by the exaggerated accounts the people received of the successes of the Spanish Patriots. Animated by the same spirit, to free their country from the power and overwhelming authority of the French Ruler, dissensions and disaffections every where became more general. Junot, indeed, soon found that his situation in Lisbon was by no means very desirable, nor likely to be long tranquil. From the constant and vigorous blockade of the port by an English squadron, the inhabitants began to experience all the horrors and calamities of a famine.



Trade was entirely stagnated, and money was so scarce, that nothing but articles of the most pressing necessity could demand it. Scarcely any of the merchants paid or accepted bills, though drawn upon them by the most respectable houses. The India House was shut up, and the streets of business, and quay, almost wholly deserted; in short, every place exhibited a scene of the most gloomy and forlorn nature. Under such circumstances, the populace were often excited to acts of tumult and outrage.

In the mean time, the Duke of Abrantes, who had assumed the office of Governor General of Portugal, sent deputies to the Emperor Napoleon, at Bayonne, who expressed themselves, in terms of the most loyal submission to his Imperial Majesty. The following is the substance of the Address of the deputies to their countrymen, after their audience with Buonaparté. Having expressed their sense of the confidence with which they had been honoured as interpreters of the wishes and sentiments of the people of Portugal, who were anxious to submit their dearest interests, and the fate of their country, to the decision of the mighty genius who is to renovate Europe, they thus proceed. On our arrival at the frontiers of the French Empire, we were witnesses of the continual rejoicing of the subjects of the Great Napoleon. This expression of universal joy in France, afforded us a presentiment of our felicity. His Imperial and Royal Majesty, devoted the first day of his residence at Bayonne, to the reception of his subjects. He was pleased to grant us the second day. He entered into the minutest de-

tails respecting all our desires and concerns. Nothing can equal the extent of his genius, the sublimity of his mind, and the generosity of his principles. At the same time that his Majesty condescended to discourse with us, with paternal affability, on the present state of affairs, he made the most important observations upon every thing that could assure our prosperity, and spoke to us with a noble indifference concerning the rights which events have given him over the country. The Emperor observed, that the great distance which separates Portugal from the seat of government in France, does not permit his watching over the concerns of our country with the same care and solicitude as over the interests of his other subjects; and that he knew the difficulty of entrusting a great power, over distant countries, to other hands. His Majesty spoke to us with some displeasure, but without any great warmth, of the Prince who governed us, and of his royal race. He principally treated of the means of raising us to our due station among the powers of the continent of Europe, and of delivering us from the yoke of British influence, under which we had, during so many years, suffered. His Majesty said, that he would endure no English colony on the continent. Finally, he declared, that our fate was in our own hands; that it depended on the disposition which we should manifest to the world, the uprightness with which we should embrace the general cause of the continent of Europe, and the firmness with which we should resist temptations to mislead us from the objects in view. These are the tokens by which his Imperial and Royal Majesty will recognize whether you are wor-

thy to constitute a nation, support a throne, and have a Prince who will govern you, and fill a rank among the powers of Europe.

This Address which was made public, by order of the Governor General, was accompanied by the following

#### PROCLAMATION.

“PORTUGUESE!”

“WITHOUT doubt, you will merit the benevolence of Napoleon the Great: your conduct will prove that you are worthy of independence. It will be a source of great joy to me, if I can contribute to your felicity.

“*Portuguese*—continue to live in quiet, and place your confidence in me. The moment approaches when your new organization will take place.”

Various deputations also waited on the Duke of Abrantes, who gave audience to them in behalf of the French Emperor. At the head of that which was composed of the nobility, was Count Ega, who, amongst other things, observed, “that Portugal had not forgotten that she is already indebted to France for some of her Kings. Prince Henry, who was a Frenchman by birth, was the ancestor of twelve worthy monarchs. We envy Italy the honour of being governed by Napoleon the Great, and should be proud to be included among his faithful subjects. Should he be pleased to become our immediate Sovereign, and incorporate us in his extensive federal system, his Imperial Majesty may be assured of the affections of the Portuguese nobility, and of their admiration of the extraordinary man, who has excited the worlds astonishment.

At the head of the Clergy, was the Archdeacon Miranda, whose encomiums on the merits and virtues of Napoleon, were equally flattering. “Since that Great Monarch,” said he, “is disposed to give us a King, we are assured he will present us no other,

than a Sovereign, favourable to those religious principles by which our nation has always distinguished itself as the *faithful*."

It is highly probable, that the French force would have eventually brought the inhabitants of Lisbon under a more thorough subjection, had not the Spaniards armed themselves in so resolute and determined a manner, to oppose the designs of their invaders. This gave them courage, and stimulated the energies of the people, who, though intimidated by the presence of Junot's army, could but ill conceal the transports they felt at the success of the Spanish Patriots. At Oporto, where the Portuguese were under less constraint, their efforts became more formidable. A considerable body of Spanish troops occupied this town, who, as soon as they had learnt the extent of the progress of the insurrection in their own kingdom, were resolved to remain no longer under the yoke of foreign subjection. They accordingly seized upon the French General, and his staff, who had before commanded them; and having made them prisoners, delivered them into the hands of Louis d'Olivera, to whom they also restored the government of the city, of which he had been deprived on the first arrival of the French.

No sooner had the old governor resumed his functions, than he ordered the Portuguese flag to be hoisted, and opened a friendly communication with an English frigate, then cruizing off the port. But D'Olivera did not long remain faithful to the cause of the Portuguese Patriots, having abandoned himself to the influence of Junot, he had refused, on the day of Corpus Christi, (a great national fes-

tival) to admit the Portuguese flag in the order of the procession, and endeavoured to substitute the French colours in lieu of it. This violation of their national custom so greatly incensed the populace, that, notwithstanding a compromise was tendered on the part of the Governor, it produced no effect, as they insisted that he should immediately resign his authority. The fury of the people was excited to such a degree, that, encouraged by the priests, they rose *en masse*, broke open the military *depôts*, and supplied themselves with 25,000 stand of arms, which, together with the regulars, formed a most determined and enthusiastic army. From this moment, all French authority ceased; and every man, either French, or suspected to be attached to the French interest, was instantly arrested and imprisoned.

The Bishop of Oporto was appointed Governor, and an army of 20,000 men were sent to meet the French, a detachment of which, amounting to 300 men, under General Loison, had already advanced as far as Amarante; but hearing of the powerful force that had been collected by the Insurgents, and that they were prepared to give him a warm reception, he retreated towards Lisbon.

All the Northern provinces evinced the same spirit of patriotic resistance; but those of the Southern, were, in some measure, kept back from discovering the like ardour, by their apprehension from the force of Junot, as well as by the intriguing spirit of the French party, who were among them.

These occurrences, however, were soon felt to be of importance, and were hailed as the favourable



epoch for the restoration of the kingdom to the Prince Regent. The most cordial love to the best of Princes, it was said, by the Junta of Oporto, had stimulated all hearts in Portugal, to oppose the most unjust and most scandalous usurpation. The Dispenser of Empires had reserved for the city of Oporto, the prerogative of leading the way, and stimulating by its courage and example, the emancipation of the kingdom from foreign tyranny and oppression. That day which had deprived Portugal of her Sovereign, had only opened a way to the most disastrous events, and had subjected it to those evils, in which the cruel revolution of 19 years, had upset so many thrones, and had ruined so many people. And from whom had these misfortunes sprung? From that monstrous Man, who has made a traffic of kingdoms, and of their subjects; who has put on the mask of religion, the more impudently to profane it; who has displayed, to advantage, all sorts of crimes, without being impeded by the least glimpse of morality, or restrained by remorse: that celebrated Napoleon, whom vile flattery, and its followers, or, with more propriety, the fear of his tyrannies have raised to the most elevated and unmerited titles, and who has dared to utter, without a blush, that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign in Portugal." Unthinking man! what right, what convention, authorizes this iniquity and usurpation? Who constituted Napoleon the universal tutor of Kings and nations? Who devolved on him the succession of thrones, wrested by his tyranny from their legitimate possessors? Who entrusted him with that extraordinary and famous protection, which authorizes the spoila-



tion of private property, and destroys and confounds all order? It is his arrogant and base assumption of these powers, that has produced the manifest hatred of the Portuguese nation, and knit them in bands of patriotic resistance to his aspiring views of universal domination. The patrimony of the temples, the ornaments of the sanctuary, the inheritance of its sacred ministers, were all insufficient for the insatiable thirst of the oppressor of the continent. The moment of liberty, however, was fast approaching, since Spain had at length opened her eyes, and was executing vengeance on her invaders. Nor will the Portuguese be found less faithful or loyal to their Prince, or less eager to restore to him the unsubverted Empire of their country.

Great are the presages of our prosperity, from the prompt re-establishment of public order, the absence of crimes, the moderation and peace that prevail among all. A wise and vigilant magistrate presides in the Police Department, who punishes the wicked, and protects the good subjects of his Royal Highness. Our objects are no less than the glorious re-establishment of our religion, and the restoration of the throne of our lawful Sovereign. It is not, therefore, necessary, that we should blend with these objects, the crimes which have so fatally stigmatized the French Revolution. Amidst the other effusions of Portuguese patriotism, the following singular and vehement Address was published by the Fathers of the Church.

#### TO THE PORTUGUESE.

“THE haughtiness of the impious man exceeds in height the top of the cedars of Mount Libanus; but its existence is like that of the lightning, and as short as the noise of thunder. Such

was the duration of that *monster vomited out of hell* to oppress mankind, overturn religion, plunder all earth, and tread under foot the most sacred rights of society, religion, and nature. His throne, built upon perfidies, upon thefts, injustice, and tyrannies, shook every time the tyrant seated himself upon it, having no other security but vanity, lies, and a vile troop of worthless and ignorant partizans, who have abjured honour, religion, the love of their country, and fidelity to their lawful Sovereigns, were anxious, like himself, to inspire into the nations that panic terror which only has helped them to spread their rapines, slaughters, commit sacrileges, and upset all order. This terror is at an end, and with it, if he be not already gone, will soon be levelled to the ground, the throne, the greatness, and the brutality of the impious, the ambitious, the wicked Buonaparté. His perfidies have attained their highest pitch, and from that instant they began to decrease.

“The wheel of fortune for him, and for us of mischance, turned at the point when his ferocities, outrages, and iniquities could go no further. History does not relate deeds such as Europe has beheld in our days. His system, wholly opposite to all rights and established ideas of policy, society, and religion, could not be lasting; nor could heaven suffer any longer a depredator, a barbarian worse than Nero, Caligula, or Dioclesian! Thanks to heaven that men’s eyes are already opened, that his intrigues, his treasons, and his wickedness are made public. I always thought, and was persuaded, that that which his partizans termed heroism and glory, was to be attributed to the panic terror he inspired, and the treasons he fomented; and that only the people rising *en masse* could be able to shake off the yoke with which he oppressed them, and crush the ferocious and proud beast, who with a vile gang of others, worthy of himself, and equal in sentiments and character to him, wished to trample on them, and reduce them to slavery. Frenchmen are more weak than the inhabitants of other countries; they are, however, more deceitful and more intriguing than them; to these two crimes it is they owe the conquests they have acquired. You yourselves have seen that of Portugal, you have seen that of Spain; such have all his others been. Let them say what they will, give them no credit; their *protection is theft*, their *happiness is misery*, their *valour is fear*—is *weakness*. The French who yet exist amongst us, is a small band of children, for which only one Portuguese, is more than a match. Have courage and valour to continue the glorious actions you have begun. Confide in the sage and provident government you have chosen, and thus your courage will give an epoch in all histories, and we, or our children after us, shall have to repeat, Long live our august Prince, long live Portugal, honour, valour, and the loyalty of the Portuguese.

“THE REVDS. JOAQUIM SOARES.”

No sooner had Junot been apprised of the proceedings at Oporto, than he took the most effectual measures to restrain the inhabitants of Lisbon from following their example. He issued a Proclamation, cautioning them against those calamities into which the Portuguese nation was about to plunge themselves. "After seven months" said he, "of the most perfect tranquility, of the most complete harmony, what cause have you to rush forward and take up arms, and against whom? against an army which has come hither to secure your independance, and maintain the integrity of your country. Who can thus urge you to betray your own interests? Do you wish that the antient Lusitania should henceforth be reduced only to a province of Spain? What can you expect in a contest with an army of Frenchmen, who, enured to all the hardships of war, and rendered the more valiant by their success, will scatter you like the sands of the desert, when agitated by the blasts of the South wind. Can you not perceive that those who mislead you, are only seeking to gratify their own revenge, which, to obtain, they care not how the continent flows with blood? Should those perfidious islanders kindle war in your territory, leave me to combat them, *this is the duty of my army; your's is to remain peaceable in your fields.* I pity your error; but should you persist in it, and continue deaf to my admonition, tremble, for your punishment will be terrible. The dynasty that has abandoned you, cannot excite your regret. Your new monarch is on the eve of visiting you. Shall he find you rebels, rather than faithful subjects? I expected to deliver into his hands a peaceable kingdom, and

flourishing cities. Shall I be obliged to present him only ruins and dead bodies? It is not his wish to reign over a desolate country: your customs and laws, every thing has been preserved. *Is not your religion our's? has it suffered the slightest insult?* While you are seeking to violate it, by submitting yourselves to the guidance of heretics, whose only wish is to destroy it. Ask the Irish Catholics, what oppression they groan under, by the orders of their government. You have but the interval of a moment, to implore the clemency of the Emperor, and to disarm his wrath: think of your punishment, if you are not submissive and obedient to my orders. Every city, town, and village, which shall take up arms against my forces, or fire on the French troops, shall be delivered up to pillage, and totally destroyed, and the inhabitants shall be put to the sword; and such as are individually taken in arms, shall be instantly shot."

Nor was the French General inactive in other respects; but as a further means of precaution and security, he thought proper to compel the Spanish troops, stationed at Lisbon, to surrender their arms, and which was effected in the following manner.

The Spanish soldiers received orders to be on the parade at an early hour, when the inhabitants of Lisbon were in their beds, and the city perfectly quiet, for the purpose, as they were told, of crossing the Tagus, on their route to St. Ubes. But, no sooner were they assembled in the great square, than they were surrounded by large bodies of French cavalry and infantry, and ordered to ground their arms.

Having thus disarmed these men, his next object

was directed to strengthening and provisioning all the fortifications in the city, and its vicinity; and augmenting his forces, by recalling such divisions of his army as were stationed at a distance.

In the mean time, the Junta of Oporto was labouring, with the utmost zeal, for the general expulsion of the French from the borders of Portugal; and to promote a union of co-operation among themselves throughout all the provinces.

For this purpose, provisional Juntas was to be established similar to those of Spain. The first edict of the Junta of Oporto, solely related to the increase of their military force, which they doubted not, from the natural ardour which every where prevailed, they would be fully able to effect, without having recourse to any forced conscriptions or levies. But, by way of encouragement to all who might be inclined to contribute their military exertions, for the liberation of their country, it was proposed, that all who should voluntarily enlist within the space of 20 days, should not only receive the just reward due to their services, but, likewise, be entitled to an honourable discharge, whenever the exigencies of the state should no longer render their services necessary.

The next object towards which the Junta of Oporto bent their attention, was to provide the necessary funds to meet all those expences which the measures they were about to adopt, could not fail to create. They invited all loyal Portuguese subjects, to contribute according to their respective ability, in money, clothes, provisions, or ammunition. But, with a view to establish a more regular source of



revenue than could arise from voluntary contributions, they imposed several war taxes, among which, that on the exportation of wine, promised to be the most productive. At the same time, to reconcile the inhabitants to these necessary burthens, the Junta decreed their release from those imposts which had been exacted from them by the French, under the tribute of passports.

The Junta of Oporto; having made every arrangement of a local nature that circumstances would best permit, they turned their attention towards England, for such assistance and support as they well knew the British Government would not refuse them. The intimate alliance which had long subsisted between Portugal and England, together with the services afforded by the British flag, to the Prince Regent, on his emigration to the Brazils, excited the most confident hopes, that the Court of St. James, would cheerfully supply their wants. Accordingly, they sent deputies to England, charged with such instructions as was calculated to rouse the feelings of the British nation in their favour. Sir Arthur Wellesley, who, with an army of 10,000 men, had sailed from Cork about the middle of July, in order to join the Patriots in Spain, and having arrived at Corunna, was directed to proceed with the force under his command to Oporto. On reaching the latter place, he was informed by the Bishop of Oporto, that the grand object of the English expedition would be best accomplished by its co-operations with Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, who was then stationed off Lisbon, and who had already addressed two very spirited Proclamations

to the inhabitants of Portugal. In the former of these, every endeavour is made to rouse the energies of the Portuguese Patriots, as well by the promise of British assistance, as by adverting to the kindling spirit of opposition, to their invaders which had broke out in the Northern provinces.

It states, that 100,000 Portuguese have risen in arms, in the provinces of Oporto, Viana in Entre, Minho E Douro, and part of Beira; and if their gallant countrymen in the South unite themselves to them, they cannot fail overthrowing the small band of Frenchmen now occupying the Capital. But to vanquish their enemies, unanimity is requisite among themselves. Let them not be intimidated by menaces, or corrupted by promises. Let them bravely and resolutely determine to free their country from oppression, and restore the government of their lawful Prince. All the aid of which his Britannic Majesty's fleet is capable, shall be given in behalf of a cause so just, and glorious, and honourable. The second Proclamation of the British Admiral, was to the following effect:

#### PROCLAMATION.

“INHABITANTS OF PORTUGAL!

“DEPUTATIONS having reached me from all parts of the kingdom, soliciting succour, aid, and assistance, and stating to me the loyal, brave, and manly determination of the people of Portugal, to establish the government of their lawful Prince, and emancipate their country from French oppression.

“I send, agreeable to your request, ships, troops, arms, and ammunition, and have directed the standard of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal to be reared, round which every loyal Portuguese is hereby invited immediately to rally, and to take up arms in so just and so glorious a cause.

“To be successful, Portuguese, you must be unanimous; and, joined by your brave neighbours and friends, the Spaniards, you must not be intimidated by menaces, nor seduced by promises.

“Some months experience must have convinced you of the effect of French friendship; it is now to British faith and assistance, aided by your own energy and efforts, that you will, I trust, be indebted for the restoration of your Prince, and the independence of your country.

“C. COTTON.”

As soon as Sir Arthur Wellesley joined Sir Charles Cotton, he consulted with him about the possibility and prudence of forcing the entrance of the Tagus, and attacking the forts in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, of which the principal one is Fort St. Julien's. This fort stands on a projecting part of the shore, on the North side of entering the Tagus, and co-operates with the town of Bugio, in the defence of the mouth of that river.

It is of an irregular construction, presenting towards the land, a front of 530 feet, and having a scarp wall 45 feet high, which is raised considerably above the sea defences, in order to cover them against the reverse fire from a hill about 520 yards North-east from the fortress, the summit of which, is upon a superior level to any part of the works. Before the land front, is a low ravelin. The land, and part of the left front, have galleries for counter-mines.

There are two entrances to the river, one between Fort St. Julien's, and a ledge of rocks about 600 yards from it; and the other passage between the same rocks, and a sand on which the town of Bugio is built. The Northern passage is well defended, as ships must pass within a short range of the guns, and be exposed to them in various directions. This work contains souterains for about 1,000 men, and barracks for 500. The casemates are not well lined, and in their present state, can

hardly be considered proof against a heavy fire of large shells.

There are several case-mated stores, and a magazine for 2,000 barrels, but which is said not to preserve powder in good order for any length of time. There are also five smaller magazines, for the immediate use of the batteries, which contain 50 or 60 rounds for each gun. The Fort also contains case-mated tanks for about 300,000 gallons of water.

The defences towards the sea, are mounted with 75 pieces of artillery, in an upper and lower range of batteries, the latter having the guns en-barbette, and being about 40 feet above the level of high water.

In proceeding from Fort St. Julien's, towards Cascaes, the first work is a battery, at a distance of 2,000 yards, called Fort Jonquieres; it has eight guns, and co-operates with St. Julien's, in defence of a fine sandy bay. From St. Julien's to this battery, is a continued parapet for small arms, well disposed, on a broken line, and which, when occupied, with the works on its flanks, render a landing here altogether impracticable. The next is Fort Antonio, distant two miles from Fort Jonquieres, mounting 12 guns, in three tiers en-barbette, towards the sea, the lowest of which tier is not less than 60 feet above high water mark; it contains a case-mated cover for 300 men, with good stores, a magazine, and a cistern. The coast line for some distance, on each side of this work, is extremely rocky, and difficult to ascend.

Several minor batteries have also been constructed for the defence of the bay, formed by St.

Julien's on one side, and the point of Cascaes on the other.

The latter fort, which is next in magnitude to St. Julien's, forms an irregular square, and presents towards the sea, on its East and South side, two parapet batteries; the former commanding the bay of Cascaes, is mounted with seventeen 18-pounders, the other facing the roadsted or anchorage, is mounted with 26 guns, 36, 24, and 12-pounders. In the angle formed by these sides, is a small work, called the Citadel, raised about 12 feet above the general level of the land defences, and about 30 above those towards the sea.

The work contains souterains for about 1,000 men, some of which, however, do not appear to be proof against the repeated shocks of heavy shells. It has barracks covered with a thin arch for 800 men, and case-mated stables for 100 horses. It has two principal magazines, the first of which will contain 300, and the other 200 barrels of powder.

From Cascaes towards the West of the coast line, is for a considerable distance rocky and difficult to land a body of men. There are, however, small batteries at certain distances, some of which are inclosed in the rear, and have arched barracks raised, to cover the guns against a reverse fire from the land.

Such is the nature and state of the fortifications within the entrance of the Tagus; and which, on the arrival of Sir Arthur Wellesley's force, were mostly in possession of the French.

The British General found it extremely difficult, however, to ascertain with accuracy, the exact



number of French troops that were stationed at these various forts. Junot's army was represented to him as being composed of 17,000 men, 14,000 of which occupied the city of Lisbon, and the different forts in its immediate neighbourhood; the remainder were dispersed as garrison troops, at a greater distance from the Capital. Under these circumstances, Sir Arthur Wellesley did not deem it prudent to make any descent with the troops under his command, in any of the bays on the North of the Tagus, as he would thus, unavoidably, expose them to the attack of the principal body of Junot's army: and having been joined by a detachment of 6,000 men, under General Spencer, he concerted measures to disembark their troops in Mondego Bay. By this means, he was in hopes to escape all opposition from the enemy, while at the same time, it would afford an opportunity to the Portuguese army, which had already advanced to Coimbra, to unite with him more speedily and easily.

Before Sir Arthur effected the landing of his men, he received advice from the British government, that 5,000 men, under General Anstruther, were proceeding to join him; and, also, that above 10,000 under Sir John Moore, would be soon after dispatched for the same purpose. But finding Junot's army had been considerably weakened, by his being obliged to send off General Loison, with about 6,000 men, to quell the insurrection which had broken-out in the province of Alentejo, Sir Arthur resolved not to delay the disembarkation of his troops, together with the corps under General Spencer. Accordingly, the whole of the British

forces were landed, and on the 9th of August, the advanced guard marched forward on the road to Lisbon. This movement was somewhat accelerated by the intelligence that Marshal Bessieres intended to make an irruption into the North of Portugal, to quell the disturbances that had taken place there, and eventually for the relief of Junot, whose situation, from the approach of the British forces, became every day more alarming and critical.

Sir Arthur, to avoid being placed between two hostile corps, was anxious that no time should be lost in defeating the plan of Bessieres, by attacking Junot before the other could come to his assistance. But from a coolness between the Portuguese and English commanders, this object was in a great degree retarded. The cause of this disagreement arose from a demand made by the former, of a supply of provision from the British stores, which was refused, on the grounds that it would subject the English troops to a scanty and incompetent sustenance. This refusal caused an instant defection on the part of the Portuguese, who immediately separated from the English; and, although, Sir Arthur Wellesley made every effort to re-unite the two armies, he could not succeed. He was even denied the reinforcement of 1,000 infantry, 400 light troops, and 200 cavalry, whom he promised to support from the British stores.

## CHAPTER XIX.

*Further Proceedings of the British Army in Portugal, under Sir Arthur Wellesley, Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Hew Dalrymple.—Battles of Rolica, and Vimeira.—Loss sustained by the British in these Actions.—Anecdote of two British Soldiers at the Battle of Vimeira.—Sir Arthur Wellesley's Thanks to the English Troops, after the Battle of the 21st.—Letter of Sir Hew Dalrymple, to Lord Castlereagh, the Secretary of State.—Armistice.—Convention of Cintra, &c.*

THE chief object of the British General, was to have attacked the posts of the enemy, which were stationed along the coasts, but this object he found himself compelled to abandon, in consequence of not meeting with the co-operation he expected from the Portuguese. On the 12th of August, the British army reached Lyria, and on the 15th, the advanced guard came up, for the first time, with a party of the French at Oviedos. A slight action took place, occasioned by the eagerness of the English troops, who, however, were obliged to desist from their attack, and to retire with some trifling loss. The French, in this instance, consisted only of a small piquet of infantry, and a few cavalry; but, by their judicious manœuvres, retreated to a position, where they received such reinforcements as enabled them to make a bold stand against their adversaries. A detachment of British riflemen who had pursued them to within three miles of Brilos, escaped, with much difficulty, from being entirely

cut off. On the 16th, the British army halted at Caldas, when Sir Arthur Wellesley began to prepare for an attack on the forces under command of the French General Laborde, who still continued his position on Roleia, after the skirmish of the 15th. This place is situated on an eminence, having a plain in its front, at the end of a valley, which commences at Caldas, and is closed to the Southward by mountains, which join the hills, forming the valley on the left, looking from Caldas. In the centre of this valley, is the town, and old Moorish fort of Oebidos, which the French quitted on the 15th, to secure a more advantageous position on the hills. Here the French army was posted, in front of Roleia, its right resting upon the hills, its left upon an eminence, on which was a windmill. The whole covering and protecting the passes of the mountains that lay in its rear.

The French force consisted of 6,000 men, including 500 cavalry, and five pieces of cannon; but, apprehending it would receive a further addition in the course of the night, by the arrival of a detachment under General Loison, who was on the preceding day at Rio Major, the British Commander determined not to delay his attack; accordingly, the English troops were formed into three columns, the right consisting of 1,200 infantry, and 50 cavalry, destined to turn the enemy's left, and penetrate into the mountains in the rear; the left, comprising Major General Ferguson's, and Brigadier General Bowes's brigades of infantry, three companies of riflemen, a brigade of light artillery, and 20 British and 20 Portuguese cavalry, was placed

under command of Major-general Ferguson, to ascend the hill at Oebidos, to turn all the enemy's posts on the left of the valley, as well as the right of his post at Roleia; this corps was also destined to watch the motions of General Loison, on the enemy's right, who had moved from Rio Major, towards Alceontre. The centre columns of the British army, including 400 Portuguese light infantry, together with the British and Portuguese cavalry, and a brigade of 6-pounders, were destined to act against the front of General Laborde's division.

The English columns being thus formed, they marched from Oebidos, about seven o'clock in the morning, when the riflemen under General Fane, were immediately detached unto the hills on the left of the valley, to keep up the communication between the centre and left columns, and to protect the march of the former, along the valley, and which successfully routed the out-post of the French.

The French having been driven from their position, conducted their retreat without the least confusion or disorder; and having occupied the strongest passes into the mountains, began to form themselves afresh, and to prepare for a more formidable resistance. The British infantry, in vain, endeavoured to overtake them, in order to complete the discomfiture they had begun; but, from a deficiency of cavalry in the English army, the French had yet sustained but little loss.

In the mean time, the British Commander, from the strong grounds the French had taken, found it expedient to vary his mode of attack. All the passes naturally difficult of access, and strongly



guarded by the French troops, were to be carried. Several corps of the English were employed for this purpose, particularly the 9th and 29th regiments, who attacked with much skill and bravery, both the flank and front of the French army at the same time. The defence of the French was desperate, and the loss sustained by the English, in this attack, was very considerable; among whom fell Lieutenant-Colonel Lake, an officer of distinguished merit. The French, however, being driven from their positions in the passes of the mountains, again rallied on the plains, which were on the tops of these, and, for a while, maintained their ground, and opposed, in three gallant attacks, (in order to secure their retreat) the advanced fire of the 9th and 29th regiments, who, for a considerable time, were unsupported on the heights by any of the other corps belonging to the British army; but, notwithstanding, the French troops could not make a successful resistance, they, nevertheless, effected their retreat in good order; a circumstance which has also been attributed to a want of cavalry on the part of the English. Whatever loss the French may have experienced in this action, has not been clearly ascertained; that of the English, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to 28 officers, and 451 non-commissioned officers and privates.

On the day following the above battle, the British army proceeded to Lourinha, in order to protect the disembarkation of the troops under General Anstruther, who had arrived on the coast of Peniche, with a fleet of victualers and store-ships. Junot having been informed that further reinforcements were expected from England, resolved not

withstanding the repulse of a portion of his army on the 17th, to renew his endeavours to force the British to retire before fresh succours should arrive. For this purpose he quitted Lisbon, with nearly the whole of the troops which had been stationed there under his command, and proceeded on his march to Vimeira. Sir Arthur Wellesley had made himself master of a fine position, but intended to march towards Mafra on the morning of the 21st, and thereby turn the position of the French division under General Loison and General Laborde, which had formed a junction with each other at Torres Vedras. But the English Commander was prevented from pursuing this course by Sir Harry Burrard, who being appointed to supersede him, and who had arrived at Maceira Bay, late on the 20th. This officer deemed it unadvisable to remove at such a distance from the supplies he might require from the fleet, and urged the necessity of Sir Arthur's delaying his movements, until he should be joined by General Ackland's brigade of 1,750 men, who were then disembarked, and to wait the further reinforcement of Sir John Moore, which might be expected in a few days. Sir Harry, in the mean time, remained on board the *Brazen*, to conclude his dispatches. On the night of the 20th, and on the morning of the 21st, the French troops were seen by the British centinels to be in motion, in a manner that could not leave them in doubt of their contemplated attack. Sir Arthur accordingly made every necessary preparation to meet it.

The village of Vimeira stands in a valley, at the back, and to the West ward and Northward of

which is a mountain, whose Western point extends to the sea, while the Eastern is separated by a deep ravine from the heights, over which passes the road that leads from Lourinha, and the Northward to Vimiera. The greater part of the English infantry, with eight pieces of artillery, were posted on this mountain, under Generals Hill and Ferguson. The riflemen under General Fane, and the brigade of General Anstruther, were posted on a hill which lies to the East and South of the village, and which is entirely commanded by the mountain on which the troops under Generals Hill and Ferguson were placed. The cavalry, and reserve artillery, were stationed in the valley between the hills, on which the infantry were posted, flanking and supporting Brigadier General Fane's advanced guard. Soon as the French appeared, it was obviously their intention to attack the advance guard, and left wing of the British army, in consequence of which the latter changed their positions, in order to meet and repel the attack. Major General Ferguson's brigade was immediately moved across the ravine to the heights, on the road to Lourinha, with three pieces of cannon; he was followed successively by Brigadier General Nightingale, with his brigade, and three pieces of cannon, and two other brigades. These troops were formed on those heights, with their right upon the valley which leads to Vimeira, and their left upon the other ravine which separates those heights, from the range that terminates at the landing place at Maceira.

The attack of the French commenced in several columns, upon the whole of the British troops on

the height to the Southward and Eastward of the town; and, notwithstanding the fire of the English riflemen, they advanced close to the 50th regiment, by whose bayonets they were checked and driven back. In order to prevent them from penetrating into the village, a small body of troops had been stationed in the church-yard, where a further engagement took place, in which the French were also repulsed in their attempt. While one column of the French advanced against the left of the English army, another body of them endeavoured to break through the right wing, but they were successfully opposed by the bayonets of the 97th regiment, supported by the second battalion of the 52d, which, by an advance in column, took them in flank. On these points the British army had acted merely on the defensive; but General Anstruther advancing for the purpose of occupying his position on the left, attacked their flank, which suffered severely from his fire, and from the fire of the artillery, which was placed on the same heights as his brigade. The contest on this height was long and desperate, but at length the French gave way, and retired in great confusion, leaving behind them seven pieces of cannon, and a number of killed, wounded, and prisoners. The French were pursued by a detachment of British cavalry; but, from their superiority in this respect, the English, after having suffered severely, were obliged to return.

Nearly at the same time with the foregoing, the French made an attack on the English, who were stationed upon the heights on the road to Lourinha. This attack was supported by a large body of ca-

valry, and was made with the usual impetuosity of the French troops; it was received with much coolness and steadiness by Major General Ferguson's brigade. In the advance of Major General Ferguson's brigade, six pieces of cannon were taken from the French, with many prisoners; also vast numbers were killed and wounded in the course of their retreat. The last effort of the French was directed to recover a part of their artillery; for this purpose, they attacked the 71st and 82nd regiments, which had halted in the valley where the artillery lay. These regiments retired until they reached the heights, where they halted, faced about, and fired upon their pursuers, whom they compelled to retire with considerable loss. It is stated, that in this action, the whole of the French force in Portugal, under the Duke D'Abrantes, who commanded in person, was employed, and that the French were much better provided with cavalry than the English; while it is further represented that not more than half of the British army was actually engaged; notwithstanding, the French lost 13 pieces of cannon, 23 ammunition waggons, with powder, shells, and stores of all description, and 20,000 rounds of musket-ammunition. The loss sustained by the French is not specified; that of the English, according to their own return, amounted in killed, wounded, and missing, to 800 men.

Of the many anecdotes which have been related of the battle of Vimeira, in order to illustrate the bravery and honourable conduct of the British soldiers; the following two appear to be the most deserving of record. When the French General



Bessieres was wounded, he was in danger of having been put to death by those into whose hands he fell. A corporal of the 71st regiment, of the name of Mackay, fortunately came up and rescued him, upon which the French General, to evince his gratitude, offered him his watch and purse. These, Mackay positively refused to accept, to the surprise and astonishment of Bessieres, who, probably, thought the Corporal was induced to rescue him from his danger, in order to enjoy, what, indeed, might be regarded as a *lawful* booty, but his conduct fully proved; that a more *noble sentiment* operated to influence this generous and disinterested act.

The other hero was a Highlander, of the name of Steward, a piper in the same grenadier company in which Mackay was Corporal. Early in the battle Steward was dangerously wounded, and, consequently, unable to accompany his regiment. He refused, however, to be carried off the field of battle; but having been placed, according to his desire, in a situation in which he might be secure and uninterrupted, and at the same time near his regiment, he continued, during the remainder of the engagement, to animate the men by his martial music. Mackay was very deservedly promoted to a commission; and the Highland Society at their next meeting, unanimously resolved, that a gold medal, with a suitable device and inscription, should be presented to Mr. Mackay, as a mark of the sense the society entertained of his meritorious, manly, and disinterested conduct; and that a handsome stand of Highland pipes, with a proper inscription engraved on them, should be given to Steward the



piper, for his highly spirited, and laudable conduct, at the battle of Vimeira.

After the dispositions for the battle of Vimeira had been made, Sir Harry Burrard arrived at the scene of action, but he declined taking upon himself the command of the army. The action lasted about four hours. On the repulse and dispersion of the French, Sir Arthur Wellesley proposed to Sir Harry Burrard, that the right of his army should advance to gain possession of Torres Vedras, and that he, with the left, should pursue the enemy, who was retreating precipitately. Sir Harry replied, that a great deal had been already done, and that he thought it unadvisable to move off the ground. This proposition was again renewed, in consequence of a message from Major General Ferguson, urging the advantages of an advance; but Sir Harry remained inflexible, and thus terminated the business of that day.

The following Thanks was made to the British army in General Orders, after the battle of the 21st of August, 1808.

*“Head-quarters, Vimiera, August, 1808.*

“LIEUTENANT-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, congratulates the army on the signal victory they have this day obtained over the enemy, and returns them his warmest thanks for their resolute and heroic conduct. He experienced the sincerest pleasure in witnessing various instances of the gallantry of the corps; and has, in particular, to notice the distinguished behaviour of the royal artillery, 20th light dragoons, the 30th, 40th, 2d battalion 43d, 50th, 2d battalion 52d, 60th, 71st, 82d, 2d battalion 95th, and 97th regiments. It will afford the Lieutenant-General the greatest pleasure, to repeat to the Commander-in-Chief, the bravery displayed by all the troops, and the high sense he entertains of their meritorious and excellent conduct throughout the day.”

*“G. B. TUCKER, D. A. G.”*

On the 22nd, the day after the battle, Sir Hew Dalrymple, who had quitted his situation as Lieu-

tenant-Governor of Gibraltar, arrived at Cintra, in order to take the command of the British army, which had removed to that place. A few hours after he had joined these forces, a flag of truce was dispatched by Junot, with a proposal for the suspension of hostilities, in order that a convention, for the evacuation of the French, from Portugal, might be agreed upon. An armistice was accordingly signed by General Kellermann, and Sir Arthur Wellesley; and which, with the following letter, from Sir Hew Dalrymple, was immediately transmitted to the British government.

*Head-Quarters, Cintra, Sept. 3.*

“MY LORD,

“I HAVE the honour to inform your lordship that I landed in Portugal, and took the command of the army on Monday the 22d of August, the next day after the battle of Vimiera, and where the enemy sustained a signal defeat, when the valour and discipline of British troops, and the talents of British officers, were eminently displayed.

“A few hours after my arrival General Kellermann came in with a flag of truce from the French General in chief, in order to propose an agreement for a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of concluding a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops. The inclosed contains several articles at first agreed upon and signed by Sir Arthur Wellesley and Kellermann; but as this was done with a reference to the British Admiral, who, when the agreement was communicated to him, objected to the 7th article, which had for its object the disposal of the Russian fleet in the Tagus, it was finally concluded, that Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, Quarter-master-general to the British army, and General Kellermann, should proceed to the discussion of the remaining articles, and finally to conclude a Convention for the evacuation of Portugal, subject to the ratification exchanged the 30th of last month.

“After considerable discussion and repeated reference to me, which rendered it necessary for me to avail myself of the limited period latterly prescribed for the suspension of hostilities, in order to move the army forwards, and to place the several columns upon the routes by which they were to advance, the Convention was signed, and the ratification exchanged the 30th of last month.

“That no time might be lost in obtaining anchorage for the transports and other shipping, which had for some days been exposed to great peril on this dangerous coast, and to insure the

communication between the army and the victuallers, which was cut off by the badness of the weather and the surf upon the shore, I sent orders to the Buffs and 42d regiments, which were on board of transports with Sir Charles Cotton's fleet, to land and take possession of the forts on the Tagus, whenever the Admiral thought it proper so to do. This was accordingly carried into execution yesterday morning, when the forts of Cascais, St. Julien's, and Bugio, were evacuated by the French troops, and taken possession of by ours.

"As I landed in Portugal, entirely unacquainted with the actual state of the French army, and many circumstances of a local and incidental nature, which, doubtless, had great weight in deciding the question; my own opinion in favour of the expediency of expelling the French army from Portugal, by means of the Convention, the late defeat had induced the French General-in-Chief to solicit, instead of doing so by a continuation of hostilities, was principally founded on the great importance of time, which the season of the year rendered peculiarly valuable, and which the enemy could easily have consumed in the protracted defence of the strong places they occupied, had terms of Convention been refused them.

"When the suspension of arms was agreed upon, the army under the command of Sir John Moore had not arrived, and doubts were even entertained whether so large a body of men could be landed on an open and a dangerous beach; and that being effected, whether the supply of so large an army with provisions from the ships could be provided for under all the disadvantages to which the shipping were exposed. During the negotiation, the former difficulty was overcome by the activity, zeal, and intelligence of Captain Malcolm, of the Donegal, and the officers and men under his orders, but the possibility of the latter seems to have been at an end, nearly at the moment when it was no longer necessary.—Captain Dalrymple, of the 18th dragoons, my military secretary, will have the honour of delivering to your lordship this dispatch. He is fully informed of whatever has been done under my orders, relative to the service on which I have been employed, and can give any explanation thereupon that may be required. I have the honour to be, &c.

"HEW DALRYMPLE, Lieutenant-General."

(TRANSLATION)

*Suspension of Arms agreed upon between Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesly, K. B. on one Part, and the General of Division, Kellermann, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, Commander of the Order of the Iron Crown, and Grand Cross of the Order of the Lion of Bavaria, on the other Part, each having power from the respective Generals of the French and English Armies.*

"Head-quarters of the English army, Aug. 22d, 1808.

"ART. I. There shall be, from this date, a suspension of arms between the armies of his Britannic Majesty, and his Im-

perial and Royal Majesty, Napoleon I. for the purpose of negotiating a Convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French army.

“ 2.- The Generals-in-Chief of the two armies, and the Commander-in-Chief of the British fleet at the entrance of the Tagus, will appoint a day to assemble on such part of the coast as shall be judged convenient, to negotiate and conclude the said Convention.

“ 3. The river of Sirandre shall form the line of demarcation to be established between the two armies. Torres Vedras shall not be occupied by either.

“ The General-in-Chief of the English army, undertakes to include the Portuguese armies in this suspension of arms, and for them the line of demarcation shall be established from Liera to Thomar.

“ 5. It is agreed provisionally, that the French army shall not, in any case, be considered as prisoners of war; that all the individuals who compose it, shall be transported to France with their arms and baggage, and the whole of their private property, from which nothing shall be excepted.

“ 6. No individual, whether Portuguese, or of a nation allied to France, or French, shall be called to account for his political conduct, their respective property shall be protected, and they shall be at liberty to withdraw from Portugal within a limited time, with their property.

“ 7. The neutrality of the port of Lisbon, shall be recognized for the Russian fleet: that is to say, that when the English army or fleet shall be in possession of the city and port, the said Russian fleet shall not be disturbed during its stay, nor stopped when it wishes to sail, nor pursued when it shall sail, until after the time fixed by the maritime law.

“ 8. All the artillery of French calibre, and also all the horse of the cavalry, shall be transported to France.

“ 9. This suspension of arms shall not be broken without 48 hours previous notice.

“ Done and agreed upon between the above-named  
Generals, the day and year above-mentioned.

“ ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

“ KELLERMANN, General of Division.”

On the first arrival of the foregoing dispatch, the English nation concluded that the victory obtained by their army in Portugal, was final and decisive over that of the French; and that no terms would afterwards be granted the latter, which could sully the glory, or tarnish the military character, which the bravery and valour of the English troops had so recently acquired. No terms it was thought

would be conceded to the *vanquished French*, but such as should henceforth deprive them of the power to resume their arms during the continuance of the war; and that nothing short of an unconditional surrender of these forces would be accepted of by the British Commander-in-Chief. But so far was the expectations of the British nation disappointed in this, that they considered the articles of the following Convention disgraceful in the extreme, and highly censured and condemned the proceeding of their officers by whom it was ratified. It was, indeed, said, with some degree of truth, that Junot had obtained such terms as were only due to a conqueror; and that the British army, consisting of double the number to that of the French, and flushed with success, had allowed of conditions little short of abandoning the interest of the Portuguese nation, and every way incompatible with the object for which their assistance had been courted.

We shall here present to our readers, the Convention in its original form, without indulging in any comments of our own, but will notice in the subsequent chapter, those proceedings that followed on the part of the great body of the people of England, who met in various places, to express their disapprobation of the Convention, and to petition the throne for a solemn investigation into the conduct and causes which had led to the general defeat of their hopes.

#### DEFINITIVE CONVENTION

FOR THE EVACUATION OF PORTUGAL BY THE FRENCH ARMY.

“THE Generals commanding in chief the British and French armies in Portugal, having determined to negotiate and conclude



a Treaty for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops, on the basis of the agreement entered into on the 22d. instant for a suspension of hostilities, have appointed the undermentioned officers to negotiate the same in their names, viz. On the part of the General-in-Chief of the British army, Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, Quarter-Master-General; and on the part of the General-in-Chief of the French army, Monsieur Kellermann, General of Division, to whom they have given authority to negotiate and conclude a Convention to that effect, subject to their ratification respectively, and to that of the Admiral commanding the British fleet at the entrance of the Tagus.

“ Those two officers, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed upon the articles which follow :

“ ART. 1. All the places and forts in the kingdom of Portugal, occupied by the French troops, shall be delivered up to the British army in the state in which they are at the period of the signature of the present Convention.

“ 2. The French troops shall evacuate Portugal with their arms and baggage; they shall not be considered as prisoners of war, and, on their arrival in France, they shall be at liberty to serve.

“ 3. The English government shall furnish the means of conveyance for the French army, which shall be disembarked in any of the ports of France between Rochfort and L'Orient, inclusively.

“ 4. The French army shall carry with it all its artillery of French calibre, with the horses belonging to it, and the tumbrils, supplied with 60 rounds per gun. All other artillery, arms, and ammunition, as also the military and naval arsenals, shall be given up to the British army and navy, in the state in which they may be at the period of the ratification of the Convention.

“ 5. The French army shall carry with it all its equipments, and all that is comprehended under the name of the property of the army; that is to say its military chest, and carriages attached to the Field Commissariat and Field Officers, or shall be allowed to dispose of such part of the same on its account as the Commander-in-Chief may judge it necessary to embark. In like manner, all individuals of the army shall be at liberty to dispose of their private property of every description, with full security hereafter for the purchasers.

“ 6. The cavalry are to embark their horses, as also the Generals and others officers of all ranks. It is, however, fully understood, that the means of conveyance for horses at the disposal of the British commanders are very limited; some additional conveyance may be procured in the port of Lishon; the number of horses to be embarked by the troops shall not exceed 600, and the number embarked by the Staff shall not exceed 200. At all events every facility will be given to the French army to dispose of the horses belonging to it, which cannot be embarked.



“VII. In order to facilitate the embarkation, it shall take place in three divisions, the last of which shall be principally composed of the garrisons of the places, of the cavalry, the artillery, the sick, and the equipment of the army. The first division shall embark within seven days of the date of the ratification, or sooner, if possible.

“VIII. The garrison of Elvas, and its forts, and of Peniche and Palmela, will be embarked at Lisbon. That of Almada, at Oporto, or the nearest harbour. They will be accompanied on their march by British commissaries, charged with providing for their subsistence.

“IX. All the sick and wounded who cannot be embarked with the troops are entrusted to the British army. They are to be taken care of whilst they remain in this country at the expence of the British government, under the condition of the same being reimbursed by France when the final evacuation is effected. The English government will provide for their return to France, which shall take place by detachments of about 150 or 200 men at a time. A sufficient number of French Medical officers shall be left behind to attend them.

“X. As soon as the vessels employed to carry the army to France shall have disembarked it in the harbours specified, or in any other of the ports of France to which stress of weather may force them, every facility shall be given them to return to England without delay, and security against capture until their arrival in a friendly port.

“XI. The French army shall be concentrated at Lisbon, and within a distance of about two leagues from it. The English army will approach within three leagues of the Capital, and will be so placed as to leave one league between the two armies.

“XII. The forts of St. Julien, the Bugio and Cascais, shall be occupied by the British troops on the ratification of the convention. Lisbon and its citadel, together with the forts and batteries as far as the Lazaretto or Trafaria on one side, and Fort St. Joseph on the other, inclusively, shall be given up on the embarkation of the second division, as shall also the harbour and all armed vessels in it, of every description, with their rigging sails, stores, and ammunition. The fortresses of Elvas, Almada, Peniche, and Palmela, shall be given up as soon as the British troops can arrive to occupy them. In the mean time, the general in chief of the British army will give notice of the present Convention to the garrisons of those places, as also to the troops before them, in order to put a stop to all further hostilities.

“XIII. Commissaries shall be named on both sides, to regulate and accelerate the execution of the arrangements agreed upon.

“XIV. Should there arise doubts as to the meaning of any article, it will be explained favourably to the French army.

“XV. From the date of the ratification of the present Convention, all arrears of contributions, requisitions, or claims whatever, of the French government against subjects of Portugal, or any other individuals residing in this country, founded on the occupa-

tion of Portugal by the French troops in the month of December 1807, which may not have been paid up, are cancelled, and all sequestrations laid upon their property, moveable or immoveable, are removed, and the free disposal of the same is restored to the proper owners.

“XVI. All subjects of France, or of powers in friendship or alliance with France, domiciliated in Portugal, or accidentally in this country, shall be protected. Their property of every kind, moveable and immoveable, shall be respected, and they shall be at liberty either to accompany the French army, or to remain in Portugal. In either case their property is guaranteed to them, with liberty of retaining or of disposing of it, and passing the produce of the sale thereof into France, or any other country where they may fix their residence, the space of one year being allowed them for that purpose. It is fully understood that the Shipping is excepted from this arrangement, only, however, in so far as regards leaving the port, and that none of the stipulations above mentioned can be made the pretext of any commercial speculation.

“XVII. No native of Portugal shall be rendered accountable for his political conduct during the period of the occupation of this country by the French army: and all those who have continued in the exercise of their employments, or who have accepted situations under the French government, are placed under the protection of the British commanders. They shall sustain no injury in their persons or property, it not having been at their option to be obedient or not, to the French government; they are also at liberty to avail themselves of the XVIth article.

“XVIII. The Spanish troops detained on board ship in the port of Lisbon, shall be given up to the Commander-in-Chief of the British army, who engages to obtain of the Spaniards to restore such French subjects, either military or civil, as may have been detained in Spain, without being taken in battle, or in consequence of military operations, but on occasion of the occurrences of the 19th of last May, and the days immediately following.

“XIX. There shall be an immediate exchange established for all ranks of prisoners made in Portugal, since the commencement of the present hostilities.

“XX. Hostages of the rank of field officers shall be mutually furnished on the part of the British army and navy, and on that of the French army, for the reciprocal guarantee of the present Convention. The officer of the British army shall be restored on the completion of the articles which concern the army: and the officer of the navy on the disembarkation of the French troops in their own country. The like is to take place on the part of the French army.

“XXI. It shall be allowed to the General-in-Chief of the French army, to send an officer to France with intelligence of the present Convention. A vessel will be furnished by the British Admiral, to convey him to Bourdeaux or Rochefort.

“XXII. The British Admiral will be invited to accommodate

his excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and the other principal officers of the French army, on board of ships of war.

“ Done and concluded at Lisbon, this 30th of August.

“ GEORGE MURRAY, Quarter-Master-General.

“ KELLERMANN, le General de Division.

“ The Duke of Abrantes, General-in-Chief of the French army, has ratified, and does ratify the present definitive Convention in all its articles, to be executed according to its form and tenor.

“ The DUKE of ABRANTES.”

#### ADDITIONAL ARTICLES TO THE CONVENTION OF AUG. 30.

“ Art. I. The individuals in the civil employment of the army, made prisoners either by the British troops, or by the Portuguese in any part of Portugal, will be restored, as is customary, without exchange.

“ II. The French army shall be subsisted from its own magazines up to the day of embarkation; the garrisons up to the day of the evacuation of the fortresses.

“ The remainder of the magazines shall be delivered over in the usual form to the British government, which charges itself with the subsistence of the men and horses of the army from the above-mentioned periods until their arrival in France, under the condition of their being reimbursed by the French government for the excess of the expence beyond the estimation to be made by both parties of the value of the magazines delivered up to the British army.—The provisions on board the ships of war, in possession of the French army, will be taken on account of the British government, in like manner with the magazines in the fortresses.

“ III. The General commanding the British troops will take the necessary measures for re-establishing the free circulation of the means of subsistence between the country and the Capital.

“ Done and concluded at Lisbon, this 30th day of Aug. 1808.

“ GEORGE MURRAY, Quarter-Master-General.

“ KELLERMANN, le General de Division.

“ We, the Duke of Abrantes, General-in-Chief of the French army, have ratified, and do ratify the additional articles of the Convention, to be executed according to their form and tenor.

“ The DUKE of ABRANTES.”

Respecting the Russian fleet a separate convention was entered into between Sir Charles Cotton and Admiral Siniavin, for its surrender, and of which the following are the particulars.

#### ARTICLES OF A CONVENTION

ENTERED INTO BETWEEN VICE-ADMIRAL SINIAVIN AND ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES COTTON, FOR THE SURRENDER OF THE RUSSIAN FLEET.

“ Art. I. The ships of war of the Emperor of Russia, now in the Tagus, shall be delivered up to Admiral Sir Charles Cotton

immediately, with all their stores, as they now are; to be sent to England, and there held as a deposit by his Britannic Majesty, to be restored to his Imperial Majesty, within six months after the conclusion of a peace between his Britannic Majesty and his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias.

“ II. Vice-Admiral Siniavin, with the officers, sailors, and marines under his command, to return to Russia without any condition or stipulation respecting their future services; to be conveyed thither in men of war, or proper vessels, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty.

(Signed)

“ DE SINIAVIN.

“ CHARLES COTTON.

LIST OF THE SHIPS REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING CONVENTION.

“ Twerday, Vice-Admiral Siniavin, of 74 guns and 736 men.—Skoroy, of 60 guns and 524 men.—S. Kafael, of 74 guns and 610 men.—St. Helene, of 64 guns and 598 men.—Ratvizau, of 66 guns and 549 men.—Silnoy, of 74 guns and 604 men.—Motchnoy, of 74 guns and 629 men.—Rafael, of 80 guns and 646 men.—Fregatte Kilduyn, of 26 guns and 222 men.—Yarow-slavi, of 74 guns and 567 men.—Total, 5,685 men.



## CHAPTER XX.

*Effect of the Convention on the Inhabitants of Portugal.—Their Protest against it.—Opinion and Proceedings respecting it in England.—Meeting of the Common Council of London on the Subject.—Their Address to his Majesty.—His Majesty's Answer.—Resolutions of the City of London on the latter.—Attempted Defence of the Convention.—Institution of the Board of Inquiry—Objections to it.—General Reflections, &c. &c.*

IT was not much to be expected that the Portuguese, who had been pillaged by the French troops, could tamely acquiesce in the terms of the Convention, which was to secure to them their plunder, and to allow them peacefully to withdraw from their country, at the expence of the British government, with all their ill-gotten Looty. Such terms they justly reprobated as an act of the grossest injustice to themselves; nor did it fail to increase the coolness and misunderstanding which had already taken place between the Portuguese and British commanders. In short, it was as universally condemned in Portugal, as it was in England. As a proof of which we shall subjoin the following Protest on the part of the part of the Portuguese Commander:

### PROTEST

MADE BY BERNARDIN FREIREDE ANDRADE, GENERAL OF THE PORTUGUESE TROOPS AGAINST THE ARTICLES OF THE CONVENTION AGREED ON BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH ARMIES, FOR THE EVACUATION OF PORTUGAL.

"I PROTEST, in general, on account of this Treaty being totally void of that deference due to his Royal Highness the Prince



Regent, or the government that represents him; on account of what may be hostile in it to the Sovereign authority and independence of this government, and for all that may be against the honour, safety, and interests of the nation; and, in particular, I protest against what is stipulated in the following articles:

“Articles I. IV. and XII. Because these articles determine the surrender of Portuguese fortified places, stores, and ships to the English forces, without solemnly declaring that this surrender is momentary, and that it is intended they should be immediately restored to the Prince Regent of Portugal, or the government that may represent him, to whom they belong, and in whose aid the English forces came as auxiliaries.

“XVI Because it permits the residence in Portugal of the individuals mentioned in it.

“XVII. Because it attempts to tie down the government of this kingdom, not to bring to justice and condign punishment those persons who have been notoriously and scandalously disloyal to their Prince and their Country, by joining and serving the French party, and, even if the protection of the English army should be allowed to screen them from the punishment they have deserved, still it should no prevent their expulsion, whereby this country would no longer have to fear being again betrayed by the same men.

“First of the additional articles. This article can by no means bind the government of this kingdom, as no reciprocal conditions are stipulated.

“I protest finally, on account of the want of attention to the safety of the inhabitants of the Capital and its environs, nothing having been stipulated in their favour to insure their not being still vexed and oppressed by the French during their stay—not even an equivalent for what is established by Art. XVI. and XVII. in favour of the French and their followers.

“And to these heads I limit my protest, in order not to make too long a list, passing over other objects of less importance, such as the concession of 800 horses, which was made without considering that they almost all belong to Portugal, and thus cannot be considered as the property of the French: that of the magazines of the army, filled at the expence of the country, and consequently only belonging by fact, not by right, to the unjust occupants of the country.

(Signed)

“B F. D'ANDRADE.”

*Head Quarters, Sept. 14.*

As the Convention had made a provision to secure to the individuals of the French army, whatever baggage, or property they claimed as their own, the most shameful and rapacious pillage was practised on the Portuguese inhabitants, in consequence



of it. No sooner, indeed, was the Convention ratified, than the French officers lent their sanction to every species of the most inordinate plunder, in so much that it became necessary to appoint commissioners, who might determine what *was*, and what *was not*, private property. Nothing could be more mortifying to the Portuguese, than to see their enemies embarking, under the protection of the British, and in British ships, with that plunder, which they had either sacrilegiously taken from the churches, or wrested from individuals. It therefore became expedient to adopt such measures, as might tend to pacify, in some degree, the indignation of the inhabitants of Lisbon, who could not forbear to urge the strongest complaints against such treatment. The conduct of the French soldiers at length became so grossly repugnant to the articles of the Convention, that the English commanders were called upon to interpose their authority to prevent further depredations, since it was manifest that even Junot himself connived at the disgraceful behaviour of the officers and troops under his command. A Military Committee was accordingly appointed for the better regulation of what might be considered private property, and what ought to come under the denomination of plunder. This Committee was composed of General Beresford and Colonel Proby on the part of the British, and of General Kellermann on the part of the French. As soon, therefore, as the first division of the French army had embarked, amounting to 1,800 men, they were forbid to set sail, until they had restored whatever had been unjustly taken either from individuals, or from the royal palace, and other public buildings in Portugal.

A proclamation was likewise issued by the Commissioners, immediately after their appointment, declaring that any purchase made of articles taken from the public arsenals or stores, since the 30th of August, or whatever should appear to have been illegally sold or disposed of at any time, even prior to that date, should be null and void; and that all articles so sold, should be seized, and the persons who had purchased them, should be subject to the punishment adjudged by the law in such cases. But whatever contributions were levied by the French, and which they had received prior to the 30th of August, were declared to be valid and irreclaimable. Thus a Convention, signed and ratified by the allies of Portugal, deprived the inhabitants of the latter from all right to obtain from their enemies any return of those exorbitant contributions which had been so vexatiously imposed upon them. On this point the Commissioners afforded no redress; they were to confine their enquiries to two objects, 1st. Whether the property taken by the French, by way of contribution for the maintenance of their army, was actually extorted before the 30th day of August? in which case it belonged to the French; if not, the Commissioners were empowered to restore it. And 2dly, Was the Portuguese property, in possession of the French troops, the fruit of private pillage? it might then be reclaimed by the right owners. The Commissioners were also empowered to set aside all surreptitious sales, which had taken place, with respect to public property, and to restore the goods so sold; but further their power did not extend.

From the foregoing circumstances it will plainly appear, that the articles of the Convention, could

undergo no modification to lessen their oppressive effects on the injured Portuguese, and who viewed them only as a guarantee for all the outrages to which they had, for 10 months, been subject, while the French were in possession of their Capital.

The Spanish troops, who, as we have before noticed, were disarmed by Junot, and who had been confined as prisoners of war, on board of some vessels in the Tagus, had their arms once more restored to them by the English. In order that this act might be performed with the magnificence due to it, all the British and Portuguese troops were assembled on the occasion. The sword of the Spanish General was restored to him by General Beresford, with an appropriate Address, in which he congratulated himself on the honour which had been allotted to him, of delivering to a Spaniard, and therefore a man of honour, that sword of which he had been deprived by the artifice and violence of the foes of his country, and which now, that he had regained its possession, he doubted not, would henceforth be employed in co-operating with his patriotic countrymen for their deliverance. As soon as the officers and soldiers received their arms, they pronounced a unanimous and solemn oath, to devote them, with their lives, to the re-establishment of their beloved Ferdinand.

After the French had quitted Portugal, it was necessary to consider of the most proper mode for the organization of a provisional government. Many obstacles, however, seemed to intervene to prevent for a time this salutary measure. The Regency which had been appointed on the emigration

of the Prince, was dissolved as soon as the French had taken possession of Lisbon, while several of the characters that composed it had gone over, and united themselves to the enemy; it would, therefore, be unwise and impolitic to re-elect such. In the mean time, Sir Hew Dalrymple ventured to take upon himself the unqualified authority of appointing a new Regency. The assumption of this power, by a military man, in the service of a foreign Prince, was, (as might be expected, not very cordially or favourably received on the part of the Portuguese nation, who viewed with distrust and suspicion, a conduct so every way unwarrantable and extraordinary. Notwithstanding a Regency was named by the British Commander, which excited considerable disgust and opposition, as well from the characters of which it was composed, as from the unacknowledged power by which it had been appointed.

The Bishop of Oporto, who had so greatly distinguished himself by the vigour and success of his measures in the North, had already acquired a considerable portion of the public confidence, and was looked up to by many, as having the fairest claim to some share in the provisional government. Thus, two parties were formed, and it soon became evident that a third party existed, whose interest were wholly on the side of France, and who would seek to avail itself of their dissensions, in order to establish its own power, and to promote the plans of Buonaparté. Even in Lisbon, the partizans of France were very numerous, and ready to oppose whatever projects might originate with the British government for the benefit of the Prince Regent.

In short, the English Commanders scarcely knew in what manner to act, seeing the Portuguese so greatly divided among themselves. In order, however, to prevent the evil disposed from taking advantage of this extraordinary crisis of public affairs, and checking that spirit of anarchy and licentiousness which was on the eve of bursting forth, General Hope addressed a Proclamation to the Portuguese, couched in terms of remonstrance at their proceedings; while, at the same time, he established a strong guard, in various directions, for the purpose of taking into custody any who should attempt to disturb the public peace. And the better to prevent such disturbances and insurrections, no person was allowed to enter the city of Lisbon with arms, or to wear them in the streets; and all the small inns was ordered to be shut at six o'clock in the evening, and not to be opened before sun-rise. It is exceedingly strange, however, that these regulations were issued and enforced by the British, and not by the Portuguese Commander.

But, if the spirit of dissatisfaction was so apparent in Portugal, on the subject of the Convention, it was no less manifest in England, when its defects became every where the topic of general discussion. The people of England had already been too sanguine in their hopes, as to the ultimate success of their arms in Portugal; nor did they anticipate the terms of a Convention, that was only calculated to strip them of all the military renown their soldiers had so justly and honourably acquired at the battle of Vimeira. As soon as the tidings of the Convention of Cintra arrived in London, it was



announced, (although at an unusual hour of the night) by a discharge of the Park and Tower guns; while many, from this circumstance, were lead to conclude, that a fresh victory had been gained by the British arms, even more important than that of Vimeira. But when the particulars of the Convention of Cintra were more generally known; when, instead of driving the French out of Portugal as enemies, and treating them as prisoners of war, it was understood that the British Commanders had granted them a safe passport to return to their homes, with their arms and plunder in their possession, and had agreed to provide them with a conveyance in British ships, and at the expence of the British nation, the public mind was deeply incensed at so degrading a procedure.

That the English transports should be employed on such a *service*, could not fail to excite general astonishment throughout the British Empire. It was considered as yielding to the enemy of Portugal and England, the utmost facility to renew his hostile operations against these powers, as soon as he should once more be landed in his own country. What more, indeed, could Junot have claimed as a victor, which was not conceded to him as the vanquished? In the mean time, the British troops was obliged to delay their route to Spain till the return of the transports.

Although but one sentiment prevailed in England, respecting the disgraceful terms of the Convention, as it affected the interests of Great Britain and Portugal, yet was the public opinion much divided as to which of the Commanders the greatest degree of blame ought to attach. Sir Hew Dal-

rymple, as the Commander-in-Chief, was the responsible person; yet many were for imputing an equal degree of blame to Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had, in the first instance, agreed and signed the armistice.

The British ministers seemed so long to delay the investigation into the causes which had produced the Convention, (with a view to point out and punish those who were any ways culpable) that the people at large began to grow extremely dissatisfied, and, in many places, resolved upon an Address to his Majesty, praying he would institute such inquiry as might lead to the detection of the causes, and the final punishment of the authors of that Convention.

The City of London, which took the lead on this occasion, convened a Common Council, for the purpose of addressing their complaints to his Majesty. It was urged, by the mover of the Address, that his object was not the blame of ministers, nor the officers whom they had appointed, but to institute an enquiry into the matter, that blame might only attach where it was due. He remarked, that after two severe battles, in the very moment of triumph, victory had been snatched from their grasp by a Convention, compared with which, the country had never concluded any thing so disgraceful. It was urged, that Sir Hew Dalrymple had confessed himself entirely ignorant of the affairs of Spain; yet he was selected for the chief command in that country. This appeared to be gross mismanagement, and from this might have unfortunately resulted the Convention, of which the nation so loudly complained. The ob-

jections to this Convention were most striking and numerous; they had occupied the thoughts and attention of all classes of the community, that it was not necessary to point them out with much minuteness. By some, who were desirous to palliate the conduct of the British General, it was stated, he had freed Portugal from a French army in a shorter period of time than could have been effected by any other means than was embraced in the terms of the Convention. Yet it was asked, Could not the English troops, who had proved themselves so brave and victorious at Vimeria, and who were, afterwards, reinforced by an army equal to their former number, compel the French to an unconditional surrender? Should no enquiry into the causes that lead to that Convention take place, and the soldier is to see, that he is only carried to the field for the useless waste of blood, the country must be sensible that its ruin is at hand. It will be impossible to make an army enter the field of battle with zeal, if by such a Convention, following such glorious victories, these laurels are to be blasted, and no inquiry take place into the causes which rendered their labours abortive. After some discussion of the motion, the following Address was unanimously agreed to.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,  
THE HUMBLE AND DUTIFUL ADDRESS AND PETITION OF  
THE LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN, AND COMMONS OF THE  
CITY OF LONDON, IN COMMON COUNCIL ASSEMBLED.

*" Most Gracious Sovereign,*

" WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in Common Council assembled, most humbly approach your Majesty with renewed assurances of attachment to your Majesty's

most sacred person and government, and veneration for the free principles of the British Constitution.

“ To express to your Majesty, our grief and astonishment at the extraordinary and disgraceful Convention, lately entered into by the Commanders of your Majesty’s forces in Portugal, and the Commander of the French army in Lisbon.

“ The circumstances attending this afflicting event, cannot be contemplated in British minds, without the most painful emotions; and all ranks of your Majesty’s subjects seem to have felt the utmost concern and indignation, at a treaty so humiliating and degrading to this country and its allies. After a signal victory, gained by the valour and discipline of British troops, by which the enemy appears to have been cut off from all means of succour and escape, we have the sad mortification of seeing the laurels, so nobly acquired, torn from the brows of our brave soldiers, and terms granted to the enemy disgraceful to the British name, and injurious to the best interests of the British nation.

“ Besides the restitution of the Russian fleet, upon a definitive treaty of peace with that power, and the sending back to their country, without exchange, so large a number of Russian sailors; by this ignominious Convention, British fleets are to convey to France, the French army, and its plunder, where they will be at liberty immediately to re-commence their active operations against us, or our allies. The guarantee and safe conveyance of their plunder, cannot but prove highly irritating to the pillaged inhabitants, over whom they have tyrannized, and for whose deliverance and protection, the British army was sent, and the full recognition of the title and dignity of Emperor of France, while all mention of the government of Portugal is omitted, must be considered as highly disrespectful to the legitimate authority of that country.

“ We, therefore, humbly pray your Majesty, in justice to the outraged feelings of a brave, injured, and indignant people, whose blood and treasure have been thus expended, as well as to retrieve the wounded honour of the country, and to remove from its character so foul a stain in the eyes of Europe, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased immediately to institute such an inquiry into this dishonourable and unprecedented transaction, as will lead to the discovery and punishment of those, by whose misconduct and incapacity, the cause of the country and its allies has been so shamefully sacrificed.

“ We beg to assure your Majesty of our unalterable fidelity, and earnest desire to co-operate in every measure conducive to the peace, honour, and security of your Majesty’s dominions.

“ Signed by order of the Court,

HENRY WOODTHORPE.”

To the foregoing Address and Petition, Lord Hawkesbury, in the name of his Majesty, returned the following

ANSWER.

"I AM fully sensible of your loyalty and attachment to my person and government.

"I give credit to the motives which have dictated your Petition and Address, but I must remind you, that it is inconsistent with the principles of British justice, to pronounce judgment without previous investigation.

"I should have hoped, that recent occurrences would have convinced you that I am at all times ready to institute inquiries on occasions in which the character of the country, or the honour of my arms is concerned; and that the interposition of the City of London could not be necessary for inducing me, to direct due inquiry to be made into a transaction which has disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation."

This answer of his Majesty was by no means favourably received by the Citizens of London, or by the country at large. It was, indeed, considered to contain the sentiments of the ministers, rather than those of the Sovereign; and which, consequently, excited every where the strongest feelings of discontent and disapprobation.

In the Address of the City of London nothing had been attempted that was in the least derogatory to the principles of the British constitution. Its object was only to obtain a judicial inquiry into the causes that led to, as well as the conduct of those, that had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation, by the Convention which had been entered into at Cintra. The Common Council did not pronounce judgment, they merely gave their opinion that the Convention was dishonourable to the British name and character, and prejudicial to the cause of their allies; and had not every indivi-



dual in the kingdom formed an opinion on the subject; yet their Address had been treated as highly objectionable, and his Majesty seemed to censure it as an improper interposition on the part of the City of London, with a view to dictate to him the necessity of an immediate enquiry, which he was already disposed to make without their interference. But their request did not imply any doubt of his Majesty's willingness to do what was proper on the occasion; it merely, in common with the feelings of the nation, aimed at no more than to convey to the throne, in the most loyal and respectful manner, their disapprobation of the disgraceful terms of the Convention of Cintra, and humbly to petition his Majesty, that an effectual investigation might take place, which would lead to the discovery and punishment of those, by whose misconduct and incapacity, the cause of the country, and its allies, had been so shamefully sacrificed.

At a meeting of the Common Council, which was soon after held, for the purpose of taking into consideration his Majesty's answer to their Address, it was boldly stated, by one of its members, "That he conceived that the Corporation of London had a right to approach the throne, with petitions and remonstrances, even although his Majesty might have expressed an intention of adopting such proceedings as they might recommend. It was proper that the King should be acquainted with the state of the public opinion, whether for, or against the measures of his ministers; and it was the duty, as well as the privilege of the subject, to give that information to the crown. It was the mode established by the Constitution, for conveying the truth

to the ear of the Sovereign, in spite of the machinations of those who might wish to keep him in darkness. This was not a right *conceded by the crown*, as a favour, but one required and demanded at the Revolution, as essential to the civil liberties of British subjects, and to be exercised without obstruction or censure. It appeared, from the records of their court, that they had often gone up, with petitions and remonstrances to the throne, drawn up in a style and spirit much less humble than their late Address, and yet the answers had not *been of so repulsive a description*. He further observed, that during the last twenty years, a period distinguished for the most momentous occurrences that ever called for the interposition of any body of men, the Court of Common Council had scarcely exercised its right of petitioning or remonstrating, but eagerly availed themselves of every occasion of congratulation. They were ever forward to shew their zeal for the prerogative and rights of the crown, but no anxiety appeared to guard the privileges of the other branches of the constitution. “The glorious independence of the crown was their constant cry,” but when had their voices been raised for the glorious independence of the houses of lords and commons.”

He concluded by moving the following Resolutions, which were carried without a division.

“RESOLVED,

“THAT his Majesty’s answer be entered upon the journals. That at the same time this Court cannot forbear declaring it as their opinion that the Address and Petition presented to his Majesty by this Court on Wednesday, the 12th instant, was conceived in the most dutiful and respectful terms; that it is the undoubted right of the subject to petition, and that this right, ought at all times to be freely exercised in all matters of public grievance without obstruction or reproof.

“That they are, therefore, at a loss to know by what construction of their said petition, however strained or perverted, his Majesty’s advisers could attribute to them any intention or desire ‘to pronounce judgment without previous investigation.’

“That they are equally at a loss to know why his Majesty’s advisers should have deemed it necessary to remind them—‘That it was inconsistent with the principles of British justice,’ unless to throw an unmerited odium on this Corporation, and raise a barrier between them and the crown, on all occasions where their object is free and constitutional inquiry.

“That had this Court refrained from expressing to his Majesty their feelings at the humiliating termination of the campaign in Portugal, they must have ceased to feel—to think—to act as Britons, and have shewn themselves unsusceptible of that patriotism so essentially necessary for the preservation of their liberties—the maintenance of their national honour—and the independence and security of his Majesty’s crown and dominions.

“They cannot, therefore, sufficiently express their concern, that they should, by any suggestions, have met with obstruction and reprehension in the exercise of this undoubted and invaluable right.

“That they particularly regret that his Majesty should have been advised to express a hope, ‘That recent occurrences would have convinced them, that his Majesty is at all times ready to institute inquiries on occasions in which the character of the country, or the honour of his arms is concerned; and that the interposition of the City of London could not be necessary for inducing his Majesty to direct due inquiry into a transaction which had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation.’

“Because it appears, that during the eventful period of the last fifteen years, various enterprizes and expeditions have been undertaken, ‘in which the character of the country, and the honour of his Majesty’s arms were concerned,’ which have grievously failed, and ‘disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation,’ and into which ‘DUE INQUIRY HAS NOT BEEN MADE. That in one of the recent occurrences to which his Majesty’s answer refers, it is not known even at the present moment by whose advice the Commander-in-Chief was appointed, or on what account such a commander was selected.

“That during all these calamitous events, and wasteful effusion of blood and treasure, the public burthens have been patiently borne, and his Majesty has not been called upon by ‘the interposition of the City of London,’ (if their humble supplication must be so termed) to institute inquiries into these failures, although it appears to them that such ‘interposition’ might have been highly necessary and beneficial to the country, and by promoting ‘due inquiry’ precluded the necessity of their late application.

“That during these unhappy reverses, and while his Majesty’s subjects submitted to so many privations, the most shameful and scandalous abuses and peculations have prevailed; into which

'due inquiry' has not been made so as to bring to justice such great public delinquents.

"That whoever advised his Majesty to put so unfavourable and unwarrantable a construction on their late Petition, has abused the confidence of his Sovereign, and is equally an enemy to his Majesty and the just rights of his people."

"That they do not attribute guilt to any one, much less do they pronounce judgment without previous investigation. They ask for investigation, prompt and rigid investigation, and the punishment of guilt wherever it may be found."

Other meetings were also held in the counties of Middlesex, Essex, Hampshire, Staffordshire, and Berkshire, and in the cities of Winchester and Westminster. In the counties of Stafford and Essex, the opponents of the Address were in the majority: they contended, that there was every appearance of willingness on the part of his Majesty and his ministers, to institute an effectual enquiry into the causes which produced the Convention of Cintra; and, therefore, it was not alone unnecessary, but would be highly indecorous, as not shewing a sufficient confidence in the government, to request what they already seemed disposed, of their own accord, to grant. That his Majesty, in his answer to the City of London, had so explicitly stated his intentions, with respect to instituting an enquiry, that it might properly be considered as a declaration made to the whole nation, and therefore a sufficient reason for abstaining from all further proceedings. Those who supported the Address, contended, that his Majesty's ministers were evidently backward and unwilling to follow up the wishes and declared intention of their Sovereign; that by addressing his Majesty, they were far from feeling or meaning to hint any doubt of his readiness to institute a proper enquiry, and which, allowing that such an enquiry had even commenced, it might yet be useful, and

could not be viewed as indecent or indecorous, to inform his Majesty, by means of the addresses, of their loyal concurrence in the promised investigation.

In the Address from Middlesex to his Majesty, which was debated at considerable length, the same spirit of dignified remonstrance appears throughout, as characterised the one from the City of London. It professes not to prejudge the case of any one who had a responsible share in forming the Convention of Cintra, but demands a rigorous and impartial enquiry into all the causes and circumstances, which had filled the nation with the utmost disappointment, in respect to that Convention. It states, that without such enquiry, the guilty cannot be brought to punishment, nor the innocent, who may be suspected, effectually vindicated and acquitted. At the same time it observes, that the British armies and fleets, which are composed of men of the same description, and drawn from the same sources, are not alike equally victorious, which it wisely ascribes to some radical defect in the military system, and a want of competent judgment and skill on the part of the military commanders. It therefore prays his Majesty, not only to order and appoint courts martial on the conduct of all the officers who advised or signed, either the Armistice or Convention of Portugal, but to recommend to Parliament to institute such a public and effectual investigation, as may tend to some salutary reform, as well as to the punishment of those, however high their stations, that may compromise the glory and honour of their country, by the weakness or unskillfulness of their measures. This Address concludes, *by as-*



*sureing his Majesty, that whoever advised him to rebuke the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London, for their late loyal Petition, acted in defiance to the principles which had seated his Majesty, and his family, on the throne; and in contempt and violation of the undoubted rights of his subjects, asserted at all times by their oncestors, and finally secured to the people, at the Revolution, by the Bill of Rights.*

Notwithstanding the Convention of Cintra was equally unpopular in Portugal, as it was in England, the British ministers were very slow, and apparently somewhat reluctant, in proceeding to institute the promised inquiry.

At length, on the return of Sir Hew Dalrymple, and Sir Arthur Wellesley to England, the form of an investigation was set on foot, not, however, by means of a Court Martial, as is common in such cases, but by the novel establishment of a Military Board of Inquiry. The invention of such a tribunal, was not likely to satisfy the ends of justice, or the expectations of the public; and, therefore, many objections were urged against it as a tribunal unacknowledged or unrecognised by the laws of England. It had no power to examine evidences upon oath, nor were the members of which it was composed, sworn to the strict and impartial performance of their duty. Without any precedent for the regulation of their decisions, it was justly and wisely apprehended that much delay, intricacy, and disorder, would occur, and that no point could be fully and fairly examined and discussed, without the intrusion of partiality or prejudice. A court so constructed, could not possess the confidence of the people, and by many it was only

thought a mockery of their complaints; it was, therefore, generally deemed as every way inadequate to the objects of legal inquisition. On this account, the public expressed their disapprobation of a Board of Inquiry, instead of a Court Martial, more especially as it did not afford the same opportunity of ascertaining the truth, or of punishing the delinquents. Nor was it considered a little strange, that a Court should be appointed with such incompetent powers and authority, in order to satisfy the feelings of the public, who were almost unanimously opposed to its illegal and unconstitutional formation. It, however, met at Chelsea on the 14th of November. The Board being constituted without any formality, the Judge-advocate read his Majesty's warrant, and which was in substance as follows:

“ That his Majesty had been pleased in July, 1808, to constitute and appoint Lieutenant Sir Hew Dalrymple, Knight, to a command of a body of the British forces, employed to act on the coasts of Spain and Portugal; and that, in consequence of an Armistice and Convention which had been agreed to under his sanction, his Majesty deemed it necessary that an inquiry should be made by the general officers appointed for that purpose, into all the causes and circumstances, whether arising from the previous operations of the British army, or otherwise, which led to them; and into the conduct, behaviour, and proceedings of the said Lieutenant-general Sir Hew Dalrymple, or any other officers who stood responsible as the Commander of the British troops in Portugal, as far as the same were

connected with the said Armistice and Convention. The Board were also authorized and empowered by his Majesty, to hear all persons qualified to give evidence touching those matters, and to report their opinion thereupon; and together with their opinion, to declare whether further proceedings should be instituted, all of which was to be transmitted to the Commander-in-Chief, in order, finally, to be submitted to his Majesty."

On the 17th, the business was opened by the Judge Advocate, and which commenced by reading certain letters from General Sir Hew Dalrymple, and from Sir Arthur Wellesley, declaratory of their wish fully to meet inquiry, and at the same time, craving that such exculpatory evidence as was in the hands of ministers, might be produced to the Court. After the usual formalities, Sir Hew Dalrymple came forward and addressed the Court. He stated, that before he gave in the narrative of his proceedings, he felt himself called to say a word or two in vindication of his character, which had been so grossly aspersed in the public prints, with a view to serve the cause of a more favoured officer. The Convention had been generally reprobated, and the chief share of its blame had been attached to him. He now pledged himself to the Court, and to the Country, that Sir Harry Burrard, Sir Arthur Wellesley, and himself, were all present with General Kellerman, when the Preliminaries of the Convention of Cintra were discussed and settled. Sir Arthur Wellesley bore that prominent part in the discussion, to which the important situation he held in the country, the glorious victory he had lately gained, and the important information, more par-

ticularly of a local nature, which he possesses, so well entitled him to assume. He had, therefore, discussed, and had assented not only to the principle of the Convention, but the general details of it; and so far from its being correct, that Sir Arthur Wellesley had been compelled by him to sign the Preliminaries, they were signed by Sir Arthur without any order from him. He was happy that he should *meet* a Court like the present, where his case would be fully gone into, and would not be checked by the *trammels of legal proceedings*.

Sir Arthur Wellesley admitted, that he was present at, and taken a part under the Commander-in-Chief, in adjusting the Preliminaries of the Convention. He had signed these Preliminaries in consequence of the desire of the Commander-in-Chief, but not in consequence of any command or compulsion exercised over him on that occasion. He had agreed with the Commander-in-Chief on the principle of these Articles, though he differed from him in some of the details.

Sir Harry Burrard strongly defended the principles of the Convention, in his narrative which he delivered to the Board of Inquiry. He acknowledged that Sir Arthur Wellesley was desirous to pursue the enemy in their retreat after the battle of Vimeira, but that he did not think it prudent or advisable, especially as Sir Arthur had, of himself, communicated to him, the difficulties the British army laboured under from the want of cavalry, and the impracticableness of removing them to any considerable distance from the victualling ships. On this Sir Harry founded his decision, that the British army should halt, aware of the difficulties opposed to its

advance. The French greatly outnumbered the British in cavalry, and the nearer they approached Lisbon, the nearer would the former be to their resources; while, should the English have experienced a check, the most incalculable disasters might have followed. Sir Harry further observed, that when he prevented the army from advancing, he did not understand that any part of the enemy's troops could be got off; but from the idea which he had formed of the battle, he then thought, and still thought, that his determination not to pursue the enemy under such circumstances was right. Of the resolution he then formed, he took the whole responsibility upon himself, and acted from the impression of what he thought best; if he had, therefore, committed any error, it was, at most, but an error in judgment.

The Report of the Court was finally presented to his Majesty; but his Majesty's ministers being of opinion, that it did not embrace all the points submitted to their investigation, it was ordered to be assembled again for the purpose of enlarging their inquiry. It is, however, fully evident, from what has already been noticed, with respect to the Convention of Cintra, that its necessity has, in a great measure, been admitted by all the British Commanders who had any share in promoting of it. It is not, however, our intention further to enlarge on a subject which has been so universally discussed in every part of the British Empire.



## CHAPTER XXI.

*Proceedings of the French Emperor.—His Address to the Legislative Body.—Their Answer.—Internal Administration of the Affairs of France.—Provisions for Public Worship, and Public Institutions.—Further Privileges in Favour of the Jews.—Eulogium on the present State of the Nation.—The Character and Actions of Napoleon, by the President of the Legislative Body, &c.*

IMMEDIATELY after the evacuation of Portugal by the French, Buonaparté began to devise some more effectual means to invest that country with a more powerful army than that which had withdrawn from it, under the Duke de Abrantes, by virtue of the Convention of Cintra. What a favourable presage did this retreat afford to the ambitious views of Napoleon, to behold the eagles of his conquering legions, transported to France in British ships, and under the protection of a British flag. Did not this more resemble the trophies of victory, than the disgrace of an inglorious defeat. Had not Buonaparté good cause to exult in the terms of a Convention, which yielded to him all the advantages of the most successful conquest. Nor was he long idle or inattentive to the additional means hereby furnished him, for prosecuting with increased energy, the war in Spain and Portugal.

On the 26th of October, his Imperial Majesty went in great state to the Palace of the Legislative Body, which assembly his Majesty addressed as follows:

“ MESSIEURS, the Deputies of the Departments, to the Legislative Body.

“ THE code of laws, laying down the principles of property and of civil freedom, which forms the subject of your labours, will be adopted as the sentiment of Europe. My people already experience the most salutary effects from them.

“ The latest laws have laid the foundation of our system of finance. This is a monument of the might and greatness of France. We shall henceforward be able to meet the expenditure which might be rendered necessary, even by a general coalition of Europe, from our yearly income alone. Never shall we be reduced to have recourse to the fatal expedients of *paper money*, of *loans*, or of *anticipations of revenue*.

“ I have, in the present year, laid out more than 1,000 miles of road. The systems of works which I have established for the improvement of our territory, will be carried forward with zeal.

“ The prospect of the great French family, lately torn to pieces by opinions and intestine rancour, but now prosperous, tranquil, and united, has affected my soul in a remarkable manner. *I have felt that, in order to be happy, I should in the first place be assured that France was happy.*

“ The peace of Presburg, that of Tilsit, the assault of Copenhagen, the plans of England against all nations on the ocean, the different revolutions at Constantinople, the affairs of Spain and Portugal have, in various ways, exercised an influence on the affairs of the world.

“ Russia and Denmark have united with me against England.

“ The United States of America, have rather chosen to abandon commerce and the sea, than to acknowledge their slavery.

“ A part of my army has marched against that which England has formed in Spain, or has disembarked. It is a distinguished favour of that Providence, which has constantly protected our arms, that passion has so far blinded the English counsels, that they abandon the defence of the seas, and *at last produce their army on the continent.*

“ I depart in a few days to put myself in person at the head of my army, and, with God’s help, to crown the King of Spain in Madrid, and to plant my eagles on the forts of Spain.

“ I have only to praise the sentiments of the Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine.

“ Switzerland experiences more and more the benefits of the act of mediation.

“ The people of Italy give me grounds for nothing but expressions of satisfaction.

“ The Emperor of Russia, and myself, have had an interview at Erfurt. Our first thought was a thought of peace. We have even resolved to make some sacrifices, in order to enable the hundred millions of men whom we represent, if possible, the sooner to enjoy the benefits of the seas. *We are agreed, and unchangeably united, as well for peace as for war.*”

“ MESSIEURS DEPUTIES.

“ I HAVE ordered my Ministers of Finance, and of the General Treasury, to lay before you an account of the receipt and expenditure of the year. You will therein see, with satisfaction, that I have not felt it necessary to increase the tariff with any impost. My people shall experience no new burden.

“ The speakers of my Council of State, will submit to you many plans of laws, and among others all those which have relation to the criminal code.

“ I rely constantly on your co-operation.”

His Majesty's Speech excited the most lively emotion, and the sitting was closed under repeated acclamations of *Long live the Emperor!* The same rejoicings were manifested in the streets through which the Emperor passed.

On the 28th of October, at noon, the Emperor being seated on his throne, surrounded by the Princes, Grand Officers, and Officers of his Household; the Ministers, Members of the Senate, and Council of State, received at the Palace of the Thuilleries a deputation of the Legislative Body.

The deputation being admitted to the foot of the throne, his Excellency the Count de Fontanes, the President, pronounced the following

#### ADDRESS.

“ SIRE,

“ THE Legislative Body lays at your Majesty's feet, the Address, of thanks voted by all the French people, as well as by them.

“ The paternal sentiments contained in the Speech you have delivered from the throne, have diffused throughout love and gratitude.

“ The first of captains sees something more heroic and elevated than victory—Yes, Sire, we have it from your own mouth: there is an authority more powerful and permanent than that of arms—it is the authority which is founded upon good laws and national institutions. The codes which your wisdom dictated will extend further than your conquests, and reign without effort over twenty different nations, whose benefactor you are.

“ The Legislative Body ought, above all, to celebrate those peaceful triumphs, which are never followed, but by the blessings of the human race.

“ Legislation and the finances.—It is to that that our own

duties are confined, and it is from you we have received that double benefit.

“To you was it given to re-discover social order under the wreck of a vast empire, and to re-establish the fortune of the state in the midst of the ravages of war.

“You have created, as you have every thing besides, the true elements of the system of finance. That system, the most proper for great monarchies, is simple and fixed as the principle that governs them. It is not sustained by those artificial means which have all the inconstancy of opinions and of events.—It is imperishable as the riches of our soil.

“If sometimes difficult circumstances render new taxes necessary, those taxes, always proportioned to that necessity, do not exceed the duration of it. The future is not devoured beforehand. We shall see no more, after years of glory, the state sunk under the weight of the public debt; and bankruptcy, followed by revolutions, open an abyss in which thrones, and society itself, are entirely lost.

“These miseries are far from us.—The receipts equal the expenditure.—The present burdens will not be augmented; and you give us this assurance at the moment when other states are exhausting all their resources. When you immolate your own happiness, the happiness of the people occupies your whole soul.—It was affected with the aspect of the grand family, (for thus you call France,) and though sure of its utmost devotedness, you offer peace at the head of a million of invincible warriors.

“It is with this generous design that you saw the Emperor of Russia. Hitherto, when Sovereigns so powerful approached each other, from the extremities of Europe, all the neighbouring states were in alarm. Sinister and menacing messages accompanied their grand interviews. The two first monarchs of the world unite their standards, not to invade, but to pacify the world.

“Sire, your Majesty has pronounced the word *sacrifices*, and we dare say to your Majesty, that word completes all your triumphs. Certainly, the nation wishes no more than yourself for those sacrifices that would injure their glory and yours; but there was but one means of increasing your grandeur, it was to moderate the use of it. You have shewn us the spectacle of force which subdues every thing, and you reserve for us a more extraordinary spectacle—that of force subduing itself.

“An hostile people, it is true, pretend to retard this last glory. They have descended upon the continent at the voice of discord and of factions.—Already you have taken up your arms to march and meet them—already you abandon France, which, for so many years, has seen you but for a few days: and I know not what fear, inspired by love, and tempered by hope, has disturbed all our hearts. Yet, we know full well, that wherever you are, you carry with you fortune and victory. The country accompanies you with its regret and its wishes; it recommends you to her brave children, who form your faithful legions.—Her wishes will be accomplished—all your soldiers swear upon

their swords, to watch round a head so dear and so glorious, where so many destinies repose. Sire, the hand that has led you, by miracle, to the summit of human grandeur, will abandon neither France nor Europe, which yet, for so long a time, stands in need of you."

His Majesty replied—

"GENTLEMEN, President, and Deputies of the Legislative Body. My duty, and my inclinations, lead me to share the dangers of my soldiers. We are mutually necessary—My return to my Capital shall be speedy.—I think little of fatigues, when they can contribute to insure the glory of France. I recognise, in the solicitude you express, the love you bear me.—I thank you for it."

We shall now give a sketch of the Internal Administration of the public affairs of the French Empire, and of those public regulations and institutions that so happily distinguish the reign of Napoleon, at least among his own subjects. Nor can we forbear to subscribe our admiration of that generous and enlightened policy, which patronises and protects national improvements, as the most effectual means to promote national prosperity.

#### INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION.

"THE internal administration of France, presents to the care of government an immense variety of objects, which cannot be entirely embraced without the most constant application. In the mean while, the several parts of the great whole, have been particularly attended to. To appreciate better the wants of the different departments of his empire, his Majesty pays successive visits to them every year. In these useful journeys, he deigns to collect around him the functionaries of the different departments of the state. He judges for himself of their capacity, and interrogates them on the abuses, and on their possible amelioration. The merchant, the artizan, and the agriculturist, express liberally their wishes. The Emperor views by himself the interior of cities, the state of countries, establishments of every description, the manufactories, &c. His genius, which applies to every thing, directs him to discover all defects, and the means of correcting them. His Majesty has travelled, in the course of this year, the departments situated beyond the Alps, those of the South-west of France, and part of the states which lead to Erfurth. It was impossible for him to make a step in Europe, without retracing some illustrious action on his memory.—In visiting Italy, he saw the first theatre of his glory. In Piedmont

and Germany, he has traversed the ever memorable fields of Marengo and Jena. Every where he saw useful institutions, and important works, which entitled him to the blessings of the people, whose hearts were impressed with indelible gratitude. The departments of ci-devant Piedmont, and of Liguria, confided to the government of a Prince born in Italy, and allied to the Imperial Family, appears attached to France by bonds more strict than ever. Bourdeaux, already proud of having contained her Sovereign, looks proud again with a great number of public monuments.—Montauban, forgotten in the territorial division of the empire, must become the principal town of a new department. Bayonne, Toulouse, and Nantes, cannot recollect the residence of his Majesty, without the most lively transports; and Mentz, several times favoured with the presence of the Emperor, constantly displays the same joy. What happy results, gentlemen, must follow from such journeys. In consequence of one of these journeys, Etruria, that ancient country of the arts, has been united to France, and associated under all the advantages of a protective and powerful government, which ought to fix the destiny of this unsettled and flourishing country.

“A commission, under the name of Junta, is charged to attend to the former administration of Tuscany, and to attend to their future management; so that the country may be prepared to live under the government prepared for it.

“The states of Parma and Placentia, having become the department of Taro, cease to make an exception to the system of the administration of the state. The cities of Wesel and Flushing, are re-united to the empire.

“These different acquisitions have the increase of territory less for their object, than the advantages of a more powerful frontier, the interest of commerce, added to the possession of a great extension of shore, as well as of number of ports.

#### PUBLIC WORSHIP.

“THE insufficiency of the number of the ministers of the altar, has attracted the attention of government. Six thousand new succursals have been placed at the charge of the public treasury.—The number is now 30,000. United to 530,051 curates, they will amply provide for the spiritual wants of the faithful of the Catholic Church. To favour the education of the persons destined to an ecclesiastical life, and to prepare for the pastors of the Imperial churches, successors who may imitate their zeal, and who equally merit the public confidence, 8,000 purses of 400 franks each, and 1,600 semi-purses, have been distributed amongst the seminaries of France. Thus the religious establishment is completed. The Concordat has established an unalterable place between the throne and the altar. The source of those contests, which were so dangerous when the existence of two distinct powers was supposed, is henceforth extinguished. The authority of the Sovereign is no longer interrupted in its action; the independance of the state, and of the church of



France, is no longer menaced by foreign maxims. The Concordat, that celebrated act of peace, has fixed for ever the respect and fidelity due towards the religion most generally established, and consecrated the tolerance of every other form of worship!

"In this respect the citizens have only to answer to their conscience, that inviolable asylum of human liberty! The Napoleon code has restored to the civil laws the power of regulating and administering to the situation of all the members of society. Under it they contract their most important engagements; they enter into the body social by birth, the form, the sacred obligation of marriage, and are freed from it at the term of their existence. With regard to these acts, the laws admit nothing beyond the conditions they prescribe, and nothing which belongs to the empire of religious opinions; but the forms which different religions command may be freely performed. Thus the duty towards the law, and the exercise of the rights of conscience, are conciliated. Such is the situation of France, happily replaced under the mild laws of the gospel, under the doctrines of the church, and union with its visible chief.

#### PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

"IF private morals were sufficient for man in the state of society, the precepts of religion, the lights of reason, example, his interest well understood, and the blessing of his creation, which has formed his good, would render, perhaps, superfluous, those public institutions appointed for placing or maintaining him in the paths of virtue; but collected in society, men have to perform so many duties, they are assailed by so many passions, enveloped in so many errors, they are called upon to employ their intelligence in such various ways, that in a situation so complicated, their natural powers are no longer sufficient. Instruction and education must aid their weakness, give them a proper direction, and become their guides in the paths of truth. Truth is one in its essence; but the investigation of it is difficult. The means of discovering it must also, in order to be efficacious, derive their force from unity; that is to say, they must be regulated by uniform principles.

"Instruction is destined to point out to man the good, and to mark that which is bad. It will triumph with so much the more certainty, that its powers are concentrated by the unity of its object, and of its means. It is not only the instrument proper for perfecting reason; it is also the guarantee of social institutions; every country in which there shall be only one opinion upon the constitution, the government, and the laws, will be preserved from civil dissensions, or at least from that dangerous character which they are apt to contract. In order to secure such great advantages, the government, which watches over, and acts for the whole society, ought to direct and watch over the public instruction; it ought to make civil education and religious instruction, though separate, advance hand in hand. Destined to lend each other mutual assistance, and to become rivals in suc-

cess for the advantage of man, their double direction shall be independant. We shall henceforth be no longer witnesses of their clashing interests, nor of their attempts to gain the ascendancy over each other; on the contrary, an alliance will be formed between them, which has hitherto been in vain attempted, and which is to be regarded as the effect of the profound combinations, and that distribution of means established by the constitutions of the university.

“ Were it necessary to adduce examples of the advantages to be derived from a system of education directed to one object, we might find them in the ancient universities, and the great literary incorporations; but we should see at the same time, how many disorders were occasioned by a want of sufficient authority on the part of the Sovereign, in the direction of their studies; how often the public peace was endangered and interrupted, and how often also the citizens were misled and diverted from their exclusive duties towards the country, by opinions of a dangerous tendency, and a power exercised without law, and without moderation.

“ The University shall have all the advantages resulting from unity of design, without partaking of any of the inconveniences of the old institutions. Its care and authority will be extended to the lowest classes of instruction, and will accompany it in all its developements. Its operation will be simple, and the effect certain; because, in a single chief, the grand master, the authority will be vested—a magistracy of the first importance, newly created, and from this moment so worthily filled by one of the principal functionaries of the empire. The University will furnish professors in all the departments; it will train them in the bosom of a regular and properly disciplined school, to the difficult art of teaching.—It will open to them an honourable career, and secure to them a maintenance amid the distresses and infirmities of age. In short, the University, free in the exercise of all the proper and laudable means of transmitting and extending the sciences, will feel its dependance on the public authority only in cases where it might be misled, in exercising contrary to the public interest, and the good order of society.

“ Some cities, however, still wished for the secondary schools, and their wishes have been complied with. Scarcely does there exist a town at this moment, which does not possess means of instruction proportioned to its circumstances. The schools for law, justify every day the confidence that has been reposed in them.

“ Eight new Lyceums have been established, and 1,200 new scholars have been invited to participate of the advantages of gratuitous education. Wherever the Emperor has directed his steps, those happy asylums of youth have been honoured by his august presence. How much must the scholars have felt the value of so noble an encouragement; what a source of pleasing recollections must it afford them! The institution of funds in every commune, secures for ever the prosperity of the Ly-

ceums, destined to be the reward of labour and exertion. They present to the pupils of the secondary schools, a powerful motive for emulation, and to the several towns of the empire for the certainty of seeing their children reap the fruits of the sacrifices they have made.

“ In enumerating the objects which relate to the sciences and arts, I must not omit the theatres, the influence of which, on the minds and morals of the nation, if well directed, may become so advantageous and extensive. In the Capital, the suppression of several places of this description, formerly considered necessary, has diminished a pernicious competition, and been the means of carrying to other quarters, formerly destitute of them, the sources of a useful amusement.

“ More necessary with respect to their object, and more important in their means, the studies relative to medicine, to surgery, and pharmacy, have received new succours. Schools both for the theory and practice have opened in the hospitals in Angers, Caen, Marseilles, Nants, Bourdeaux, Rheims, and Dijon. The officers of health, and the midwives, will there receive instruction so much the more solid and certain, as both the one and the other will find it necessary to practice their lessons in the service of the hospitals.

As a part of the Napoleon regulation in favour of religious toleration, we must notice the further privileges extended to the Jews, as well in France, as in other places, subject to the authority of the French Emperor. The Jews of the kingdom of Westphalia, in the course of the present year, met by deputation at Cassel, in order to testify their allegiance to his Majesty King Jerome. The deputation, which consisted partly of Rabbies, and partly of Elders, were introduced by M. Israel Jacobson, Councillor of Finances, first to M. Simeon, Minister of State, and after that to his Majesty. M. Jacobson, having addressed his Majesty on the part of the Deputation, in a short Speech, expressive of their loyalty and affection, his Majesty was pleased to return the following

ANSWER.

“ I AM satisfied with your loyalty and attachment.—That article in the constitution of my kingdom, which establishes the equality

of all religions, is in perfect unison with the feelings of my heart. The law ought to interrupt no man in the exercise of his worship. Each subject is as much at liberty to observe the rules of his Faith, as the King is to follow his religion. The duties of the citizen, are the only objects which the laws of the government can regulate."

The Imperial Decrees also of the 17th of March, have been greatly relaxed in favour of the Jews of those departments, against which they were chiefly to operate.

By the first of these Decrees, it was provided that every 2,000 Jews were to form a Synagogue, but there can be only one Consistorial Synagogue in each department. The business of the Consistory, is to superintend the Rabbies, and see that their teaching be conformable to the doctrines of the Grand Sanhedrin. They are to give information respecting the Jewish conscripts of their districts. Every Jew who wishes to settle in France, must give three months previous notice to the nearest Consistory; there is to be a Central Consistory at Paris, each Consistory is to have a grand Rabbi elected by 25 Notables, who are to receive from 1,000 to 6,000 francs *per annum*. By the second Decree, all obligations for loans made by Jews to minors, without the sanction of their guardians, to married women, without the consent of their husbands; and to military men without the authority of their superior officers, were annulled. Bills granted by French subjects to Jews, cannot be demanded, unless the holders prove that full value was given without any fraud. All contracts were declared usurious, where the interest accumulated, on the capital exceeded 20 *per cent*. No Jew is allowed to trade without a patent, to be renewed

annually. In many of the departments, the Jews were forbidden to settle, unless they abandoned commerce, and purchased rural property. Such Jews as belong to the Conscription, were not to be allowed to find substitutes, but compelled to perform personal service : these, and similar regulations, were to continue in force for ten years ; however, they have already, in a great measure, been rescinded.

In the department of East Friesland, as well as in the department of Fulda, all those restrictions by which they were separated from the other inhabitants have been entirely removed ; and it is declared, that all distinctions between the professors of Judaism and Christians, as to privileges, are at an end, and they shall be no longer denominated *Tolerated Jews*, but shall be regarded as real *citizens* and inhabitants, it being the duty of the government to remove, as much as possible, all marked *distinction between Jews and Christians*.

On the subject of the present war, the annual *Exposé* of the French Empire, exhibits the following illuminative description.

#### THE PRESENT WAR.

“ AT the epoch of your last sitting, gentlemen, every thing combined to deliver Europe from its long agitations ; but England, the enemy of the world, still repeated the cry of perpetual war, and war continues. What then is the object, what will be the issue ? The object of this war is the slavery of the world, by the exclusive possession of the seas. There is no doubt, that by subscribing treaties of bondage, disguised under the holy name of peace, nations may obtain repose ; but this shameful repose would be death. In this alternative, the choice between submission and resistance could not be long doubtful.

“ The war which England has provoked, which she continues with so much pride and obstinacy, is the termination of the ambitious system which she has cherished during two centuries. Mixing in the politics of the continent, she has succeeded in holding Europe in a perpetual agitation, and in exciting against

France all the envious and jealous passions. It was her wish to humble or destroy France, by keeping the people of the continent constantly under arms; and thus detaching the maritime powers, she had the art to profit from the divisions she fomented among neighbours, in order to forward her distant conquests.

“ In this manner has she extended her colonies, and augmented her naval power; and, by the aid of that power, she hopes henceforth to enjoy her usurpation, and to arrogate to herself the exclusive possession of the seas.

“ But until these latter times, she paid at least some respect to the laws of nations: she seemed to respect the rights of her allies, and even, by some returns towards peace, allowed her enemies to breathe.

“ This conduct is, however, no longer suitable to the development of a system which she can no farther dissemble. All who do not promote her interests are her enemies. The abandonment of her alliance is a cause of war; neutrality is a revolt; and all the nations that resist her yoke, are made subject to her cruel ravages.

“ It is impossible to foresee what might have been the consequence of so much audacity, had not fortune, on our part, raised up a man of a superior order, destined to repel the evils with which England threatens the world.

“ He had always to combat the allies of that power on the continent, and to conquer the rising enemies she succeeded in creating. Always attacked, always threatened, he found it necessary to regulate his policy by that state of things, and felt that to allay the contest it was necessary to augment our forces, and weaken those of our enemies.

“ The Emperor, always pacific, but always armed by necessity, was not ambitious of aggrandizing the empire. Prudence always directed his views. It became necessary for him to relieve our ancient frontiers from the too near danger of sudden attacks, and to found their security on limits fortified by nature: finally, it became necessary so to separate France, by alliances, from her rivals, that even the sight of an enemy's standard never could alarm the territory of the empire.

“ England, defeated in the disputes she so often renewed, profited, however, of them, to increase her wealth, by the universal monopoly of commerce.

“ She had impoverished her allies by wars, in which they fought only for her interests. Abandoned at the moment in which their arms ceased to serve those interests, their fate became the more indifferent to her, as she preserved some commercial relations with them, even while she continued the war with France.

“ Even France herself left to the English the hope of a shameful subjugation to the want of certain objects, the privation of which they believe our generous population could not support. They thought that if they could not enter our territory of the empire by their arms, they might penetrate us heart by a commerce



now become its most dangerous enemy, and the admission of which would have exhausted its most valuable resources.

"The genius and the prudence of the Emperor have not overlooked this danger. Involved in the difficulties of the continental war, he ceased not, however, to repel from his states the monopoly of English commerce. He has since completed the measures of an effectual resistance.

"No one can now be deceived on this subject; since the English have declared this new kind of war, all the ports of the continent are blockaded, the ocean is interdicted to every neutral ship which will not pay to the British treasury, a tribute which is meant to be imposed on the whole population of the globe.

"To this law of slavery, other nations have replied by measures of reprisal, and by wishes for the annihilation of such tyranny.

"The English nation has separated itself from every other nation. England is fixed in this situation. All her social relations with the continent are suspended. She is smitten by the *excommunication* which she has herself provoked.

"The war will henceforth consist in repelling, from all points, the English commerce, and in employing all the means calculated to promote that end.

"France has energetically concurred in the exclusion of the monopoly of commerce; she has resigned herself to privations which long habits must have rendered more painful. Some branches of her agriculture and her industry have suffered, and still suffer, but the prosperity of the great body of the nation is not affected: she is familiarized with that transitory state, the hardships of which she beholds without fear. The allies of France, and the United States, sacrifice, like her, and with a resolution equally generous, their private conveniences. England was on the eve of the moment when her exclusion from the continent was about to be consummated; but she availed herself of the last circumstance to spread the genius of evil over Spain, and to excite in that unhappy country all the rage of furious passions. She has sought for alliances even in the support of the Inquisition, and even in the most barbarous prejudices. Unhappy people, to whom do you confide your destiny? To the container of all moral obligations—to the enemies of your religion; to those who, violating their promises, have elevated on your territory a monument of their impudence, an affront, the impunity of which for above a century would bear testimony against your courage, if the weakness of your government had not been alone to blame. You ally yourself with the English, who have so often wounded your pride and your independance—who have so long ravished from you by open violence, and even in time of peace, the commerce of your colonies—who, in order to intimate to you their prohibition of your neutrality, caused their decrees to be preceded by the plunder of your treasure, and the massacre of your navigators—who, in fine, have covered

Europe with proofs of their contempt or their allies, and for the deceitful promises they had made to them. You have, without doubt, recovered from your error. You will then groan for the new perfidies that are reserved for you. But how much blood, and what a quantity of wars will flow before this tardy return to your senses. The English hitherto, absent from all great conflicts, try a new fortune on the continent. They ungarrison their island, and leave it almost without defence in the presence of an enterprising and valiant King, who commands a French army, and who has already snatched from them the strong position of the island of Capri. What then will be the fruit of their efforts? Can they hope to be able to exclude the French from Spain and Portugal? Can the success be doubtful? The Emperor himself will command his invincible legions.—What a presage does the heroic army of Portugal offer to us, which, struggling against double its force, has been able to raise trophies of victory on the very land where it fought to such disadvantage, and to dictate the conditions of a glorious retreat. In preparing for a new struggle against our old enemy, the Emperor has done all that was necessary for the maintenance of peace on the continent. He must reckon upon it without doubt, inasmuch as Austria, the only power which could disturb it, has given the strongest assurances of her disposition, in recalling her ambassador from London, and desisting from all political communication with England.

“ Still Austria had recently made armaments, but they took place certainly without any hostile intention. Prudence, nevertheless dictated energetic measures of precaution. The armies of Germany and Italy are strengthened by levies of the new conscription. The troops of the Confederation of the Rhine are complete, well organized, and disciplined.

“ One hundred thousand of the grand army leave the Prussian states to occupy the camp at Boulange, while Denmark henceforth safe from any English invasion, is evacuated by our troops, which are concentrated and *centralising* themselves. Before the end of January, the battalions withdrawn to Spain will be replaced on the Banks of the Elbe and the Rhine.

“ Those which quelled Italy last year, return to their former destination.

“ Such, Messieurs, is the external situation of France.

“ In the interior, the greatest order in all parts of the administration; important ameliorations, and a great number of new institutions, have excited the gratitude of the people.

“ The creation of titles of nobility have environed the throne with a new splendor. This system creates in all hearts a laudable emulation. It perpetuates the recollection of the most illustrious services paid by the most honourable reward.

“ The clergy have distinguished themselves by their patriotism, and by their attachment to their Sovereign and their duties. Respect to the ministers of the altar, who honour religion by a devotion so pure, and virtues so disinterested !

"The magistrates of all classes every where aid, and without their efforts, the views of the Sovereign and the people, by their zeal facilitate the operation of their authority, and by the manifestation of the most affecting sentiments, exalt the courage and ardour of the troops.

"Soldiers, magistrates, citizens, all have but one object, the service of the state—but one sentiment, that of admiration of the Sovereign—but one desire, that of seeing heaven watch over his days, too just a recompence for a Monarch who has no other thought, no other ambition, than those of the happiness and the glory of the French nation."

As soon as this oration was concluded, the President of the Legislative Body, pronounced the following eulogy on the splendid qualities and achievements of Napoleon.


"MONSIEUR, MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, AND GENTLEMEN COUNSELLORS OF STATE.

"You have painted the true greatness of the Prince, in retracing all the good he has done. The annual pictures of his internal administration will one day be the finest monuments of his reign. Unhappy the Sovereign who is great only at the head of his armies; happy the one who knows how to govern as well as to conquer, who occupies himself incessantly with useful works, in order to rest himself from the fatigues of war, and whose provident hand sows in the midst of so many ravages, the fruitful seeds of public felicity. One man has fulfilled these two great destinies. He has subdued powerful states; he has traversed Europe, as a conqueror under triumphal arches, erected to his glory, from the bounds of Italy to the farthest extremities of Poland. It was enough for the first of heroes, but not enough for the first of Kings. In the fields of Marengo and of Jena, that indefatigable genius meditated the happiness of nations. All the ideas of public order—all those safe councils which protect societies and empires, have always accompanied him in his warlike tent. It was he that reopened the temples of desolated religion, and who saved morality and the laws from a ruin which was almost inevitable. In one word, he has founded more than others have destroyed.—Behold that which recommends his memory to eternity.

"In the midst of the most magnificent of our squares, a column, worthy of the age of the Antonines or the Trajans, has been elevated in opposition to the voice of the hero that is above such things. Our exploits will be engraven on the glorious bronzes with which it is to be covered. Victory, erect on this triumphal column, will point to Italy, twice subdued, to Vienna, to Berlin, and Warsaw, opening their gates;—our standards floating on the Pyramids, the Po, the Danube, the Rhine, the Spree, the Vistula, stooping beneath our laws.—Frenchmen will stop with pride at

the foot of this monument. The day is perhaps not far distant, when we may be able to erect to the pacification of Europe, a monument still more worthy of him. Let all the arts decorate him with the emblems of agriculture and industry; let the images of peace and abundance preside above; there be represented with them, not cities destroyed, but cities rebuilt—not captive rivers, but rivers mixing their streams for the benefit of commerce—not fields of slaughter, but fields fertile—not the war which shatters thrones, but the wisdom which re-establishes them. Let them engrave on it, in fine, as a substitute for all other inscriptions, these memorable words:—*‘I have felt that in order to be happy it was necessary for me first to be assured of the happiness of France.’*

“This triumphal arch, of a new description, will never be beheld without emotions of respect and love. It is there that every heart will send forth, with effort, the most exalted eulogy of that great man, who has been the author of so much good. We cannot render him our homage in a better mode than by putting up vows, that his talents as a warrior may soon become useless. Secure is he of finding within himself other sources of greatness. Let us not doubt it. Thanks to all that he shall undertake for the happiness of the nation. His renown as a conqueror will henceforth be but the most feeble part of his glory.”



## CHAPTER XXII.

*Imperial Meeting of the French and Russian Emperors at Erfurth.—Proposals of Peace to England.—His Britannic Majesty's Declaration.—Naval Projects of France.—Union of Tuscany to the French Empire.—Capture of the Island of Capri —Buonaparté's Arrival in Spain.—Positions of the French and Spanish Armies in that Kingdom.—Concluding Remarks of the Seventh Volume, &c. &c.*

THE Imperial meeting at Erfurth, which we have slightly adverted to in a former chapter, between the Sovereigns of France and Russia, it was said had for its object a general restoration of peace to Europe.

The extension of the calamities of war might, indeed, justly excite a wish to promote tranquility, even in the breast of the warlike Napoleon, who, from his first ascension to the throne of France, until the present day, has reigned only amidst the most sanguinary conflicts.

On the arrival of Buonaparté at Erfurth, the most honourable and loyal respect was everywhere shewn to him. The Commandant of the town, together with a procession of deputies from the various public bodies, met him without the gates, and presented their address to him, which, like all others of a similar nature, was replete with sentiments of attachment to his person and government. The Emperor, having perused the address, and testified his satisfaction, entered the town on horseback, amidst the tumult of public rejoicings, and alighted at the hotel prepared for his reception. He, however, soon after mounted his horse again, to pay a visit to his Majesty the

King of Saxony, who arrived on the preceding day. He afterwards inspected the troops quartered in this town, and then proceeded on horseback, on the road to Weimar, to meet his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia. About three o'clock in the afternoon the two great monarchs entered the town on horseback, attended by a great number of persons of the first rank, escorted by two regiments of foot, and two regiments of horse. At night the whole town was illuminated. The sum said to be thrown into circulation in that town and its environs, by the the honour thus conferred on it, has been estimated at 1,500,000 rixdollars, about 250,000*l.* sterling. The Emperors paid each for their apartments 50 Louis-d'ors a-day.

Whatever took place at the conference between these Sovereigns at Erfurth, we have reason to think is still but little known to the other cabinets of Europe; although we cannot, for a moment doubt, but that Buonaparté's aim was to concert such measures with Alexander, as might tend, either to procure a peace with England, or to force her armies to abandon the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal. The encreased preparations and formidable attitude of Austria, at this time, also, could not fail to influence Buonaparté to adopt this measure, as the most likely means to counteract those hostile designs, with which he seemed to be menaced by that power. In this he succeeded. For the Austrian cabinet, greatly alarmed at the meeting of the two Emperors, dispatched Baron Vincent, on an extra mission to Erfurth. On his arrival, he was admitted to separate interviews with the two Sovereigns; what passed on this occasion



is not known, but he probably satisfied Buonaparté, that his master would remain neutral, and that his military preparations were not intended to be directed against France, or its allies. On the other hand, it is evident he wrought upon the feelings of the Emperor of Russia, to become a party in making with him the proposals of peace to England; for soon after the Imperial Conference had ended at Erfurth, a Russian and French messenger was dispatched to England, with offers of a pacific nature to the British Cabinet. From what other motive (except the desire to restore tranquility to Europe) this offer was made, we confess ourselves unable to determine. But the enemies to peace have assigned other causes for this overture; as if it was proffered only with a view to its ultimate rejection, and to protract the calamities of warfare. By some it was considered as made solely for the purpose to prevent England from sending any further succours to Spain, and thereby rendering more ineffectual the resistance of the Patriots to the operations of the French arms. It was generally agreed, among the politicians of Britain, that no terms could be consistently listened to on the part of the Court of St. James's, that did not include in them the liberation of Spain from the French troops, and the restoration of her Sovereign. Any thing short of these terms, it was said, would only sully the honour of the British character, and humble it in the sight of those, whose battles they were then so warmly and strenuously fighting. They could not think of sacrificing the hopes and confidence of Spain, by abandoning her cause, and though willing to embrace the proffered negocia-

tion in all other respects, it was deemed incompetent to the national glory, and feelings of Englishmen, to avail themselves of any offers of peace that could not equally be extended to the benefit of their allies. These overtures, under the circumstances we have noticed, could not, therefore, fail to be rejected by his Britannic Majesty, whose answer to them may be collected from the following Royal

#### DECLARATION.

“THE overtures made to his Majesty, by the governments of Russia and of France, have not led to negociation: and the intercourse to which those overtures gave rise, being terminated, his Majesty thinks it right thus promptly and publicly to make known its termination.

“The continued appearance of a negociation, when peace has been found to be utterly unattainable, could be advantageous only to the enemy.

“It might enable France to sow distrust and jealousy in the councils of those who are combined to resist her oppressions; and if, among the nations which groan under the tyranny of French alliance, or among those which maintain against France a doubtful and precarious independence, there should be any which even now are ballancing between the certain ruin of a prolonged inactivity, and the contingent dangers of an effort to save themselves from that ruin; to nations so situated, the delusive prospect of a peace between Great Britain and France could not fail to be peculiarly injurious. Their preparations might be relaxed by the vain hope of returning tranquility; or their purpose shaken by the apprehension of being left to contend alone.

“That such was, in fact, the main object of France in the proposals transmitted to his Majesty from Erfurth, his Majesty entertained a strong persuasion.

“But at a moment when results so awful from their importance, and so tremendous from their uncertainty, might be depending upon the decision of peace or war, the King felt it due to himself to ascertain, beyond the possibility of doubt, the views and intentions of his enemies.

“It was difficult for his Majesty to believe, that the Emperor of Russia had devoted himself so blindly and fatally to the violence and ambition of the power with which his Imperial Majesty had unfortunately become allied, as to be prepared openly to abet the usurpation of the Spanish monarchy; and to acknowledge and maintain the right, assumed by France, to depose and imprison friendly Sovereigns, and forcibly to transfer to herself the allegiance of independant nations.

“ When, therefore, it was proposed to his Majesty, to enter into negociation for a general peace, in concert with his Majesty’s allies, and to treat either on the basis of the *uti possidetis*, (heretofore the subject of so much controversy) or on any other basis, consistent with justice, honour, and equality, his Majesty determined to meet this seeming fairness and moderation, with fairness and moderation, on his Majesty’s part real and sincere.

“ The King professed his readiness to enter into such negociation in concurrence with his allies; and undertook forthwith to communicate to them the proposals which his Majesty had received. But as his Majesty was not connected with Spain by a formal treaty of alliance, his Majesty thought it necessary to declare, that the engagements which he had contracted, in the face of the world, with that nation, were considered by his Majesty as no less sacred, and no less binding upon his Majesty, than the most solemn treaties; and to express his Majesty’s just confidence that the government of Spain, acting in the name of his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII. was understood to be a party of the negociation.

“ The reply returned by France to this proposition of his Majesty casts off at once the thin disguise, which had been assumed for a momentary purpose; and displays, with less than ordinary reserve, the arrogance and injustice of that government. The universal Spanish nation is described by the degrading appellation of “ the Spanish insurgents;” and the demand for the admission of the government of Spain as a party to any negociation, is rejected as inadmissible and insulting.

“ With astonishment, as well as with grief, his Majesty has received from the Emperor of Russia a reply, similar in effect, although less indecorous in tone and manner. The Emperor of Russia also stigmatizes as “ insurrection,” the glorious efforts of the Spanish people in behalf of their legitimate Sovereign, and in defence of the independance of their country; thus giving the sanction of his Imperial Majesty’s authority to an usurpation which has no parallel in the history of the world.

“ The King would readily have embraced an opportunity of negociation, which might have afforded any hope or prospect of a peace, compatible with justice and with honour. His Majesty deeply laments an issue, by which the sufferings of Europe are aggravated and prolonged. But neither the honour of his Majesty, nor the generosity of the British nation, would admit his Majesty’s consenting to commence a negociation, by the abandonment of a brave and loyal people, who are contending for the preservation of all that is dear to man; and whose exertions in a cause so unquestionably just, his Majesty has solemnly pledged himself to sustain.”

In the course of the present year, a new system developed itself in France, under the title of naval

projects. The following is a summary of the assigned ground :

“ *The whole coast of the Mediterranean sea must form a part of the French territory of the great Empire.* The regions, the coast adjoining to the Adriatic, are united with the kingdom of Italy ; all those which lie along the Mediterranean, which are adjacent to our territory, must be united to the empire of France. From Leghorn to Toulon, to Genoa, to the Department of Corsica, is not farther than from Leghorn to Milan. The commerce of the Mediterranean, whatever may be the object of the tyrant of the seas, will be necessarily under the influence of France. The very same first principles, in consequence of which Genoa was incorporated with France, rather than with the kingdom of Italy, also require that Leghorn be made a part of that empire. The kingdom of Naples, which lies both on the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, constitutes a distinct kingdom, subject, however, to the same federative system, and to the same state policy.

“ The port of Leghorn has given constant reasons of complaint to France. That port, appertaining to a territory governed by a weak prince, had fallen under the influence of England, and was become one of the principal inlets for her commerce. In different instances, without wishing to violate the neutrality of the Sovereign of Tuscany, it became necessary for divisions of French troops to enter Leghorn, to confiscate the English merchandize there. These violations of territory, however necessary, are always disagreeable ; and since Leghorn cannot be under the influence of France and England at the same time, it must become a part of France. Besides, Leghorn and the Tuscan territory produces sailors for the execution of our marine ; through its whole extent ship-building is carried on ; and in the same proportion must the means be increased of suitably providing seamen for manning them. If, as of late, a squadron was created at Toulon, as if by a miracle, and if, contrary to the ideas of all those who are acquainted with the sea service, we found means to equip a numerous squadron, which Admiral Gantheaume commanded with so much ability, and for which he obtained so much renown, by the skilful manœuvres by which he frustrated the plans of the enemy— which having supplied with men, provisions, and warlike stores, Corfu, the key to the Adriatic, menaced by an expedition already on its way, thus rendered fruitless, and which, on its returning voyage, captured many considerable prizes, braved all storms, and exercised the crews during a difficult voyage of three months—if all these advantages had been gained, they must be partly ascribed to the incorporation of Genoa, which number many of her sons among the good seamen of that squadron.

“ The sons of Arno are invited to glory ; his Majesty having decreed that Spezzia shall be a military port ; the docks, the works of the arsenal, and the forts, both on the sea and land side,

are already marked out, and before the end of the present year, six ships of two or three decks shall be put upon the stocks.

“ It would not be proper to establish such considerable works at the extremities of the empire, if a foreign power was placed at the very gates of that arsenal. Spezzia shall become a second Toulon in the Mediterranean; on the whole coast there abound iron, timber, provisions, and useful hands; the provisions, the iron, and the men surrendered up, must become French. France and the Continent, which are desirous of restoring the balance of power on the ocean, have the self-same interest in the prosperity of the new maritime department of Spezzia. The incorporation of Tuscany is a necessary consequence of that grand plan.

“ This union is also the interest of Tuscany, which under the sway of its little princes, was governed without system, without vigour, and was perpetually infested by the Barbary powers. Men can no longer be governed by a capricious and fantastic manner. There must be a certain rule, the government of the law, protected by a prince sufficiently grave, and elevated above the passions of men, and inflexible, as the law is necessary for this purpose. THE TIME INDEED IS PASSED, IN WHICH IT WAS BELIEVED THAT PEOPLE WERE MADE FOR KINGS, NOT KINGS FOR PEOPLE! Lands and forests may become property, but no person can possess a kingdom as if it were a farm! These disastrous consequences can no longer take place in great states. It is vain, then, that objections are made to the great extension of the empire; the communication by land, now that neither Alps or Appenines oppose it, is as easy from Leghorn to Paris as from Paris to Nice. It has been the policy of European states to subdue the most distant countries, in order to obtain new commercial and maritime resources; why then should we neglect those resources and acquisitions which are so valuable to us? The territory to the Medici, the country of the sciences and the arts, must form an immediate part of the French empire.

“ The Dukedom of Urbino, Camerino, and the Mark of Ancona, lying on the coast of the Adriatic, fall under the influence of Venice, and must necessarily be united with the kingdom of Italy. This is also accomplished, and the considerable works in the port of Ancona will afford the opportunity of fitting out there ten sail the line, to secure the freedom of the Adriatic sea, of which Ancona shall be the harbour, and Venice the naval arsenal. Before the end of this year five sail of the line shall be lying on the roads of Ancona, in that dangerous sea, which to the English present only hostile shores, and where they will be obliged to maintain six ships of the line, if they attempt to counterbalance our power.—No, the war shall not be eternal, in spite of the blind fury which cherishes that inhuman and senseless principle in the cabinet of London. Every where French squadrons are forming, and our naval power in the Scheldt is already considerable. In a few days there will be in the roads of Flushing and Antwerp a fleet of 30 sail of the line; and on the coast of Brittany will be still



stronger. Besides that, we have the allied Russian squadron at Lisbon, where there are already a division of several new ships of the line in the best state, which the rapid advance of the army under General Junot placed in our hands.

"The events in Spain have converted a declining and badly conducted Monarchy into a constitutional and energetic government; the dock-yards at Cadiz, Ferrol, and Carthagena, have felt this already. Toulon, Spezzia, Venice, all the resources forth coming from Holland, Spain, and Italy, are in operation: we must have ships, and these last named countries have no deficiency either of iron or of timber and hemp, for building or rigging them.

"A decree has been issued from the Emperor for the incorporation of Tuscany, on the principle of the necessity for completing the system of the great empire, and for rendering the naval administration harmonious throughout all the members of the great confederacy. Without the incorporation of Tuscany, there could be no immediate communication with Naples, and our relations could not be maintained with her, but through the medium of states subsisting under other governments, from which it might be feared that the guidance and influence might be lost, which must be exercised towards such states, to place the coasts and sailors in a state of opposition to the common enemy."

The decree for uniting Tuscany to the French empire, contains the following

#### ARTICLES.

"Art. I. The dukedoms of Parma and Placentia are united to the French empire, under the name of the department of the Taro; they shall form an inseparable, indivisible portion of the French territory, from the period of the notification of the present senatus consultum.

"II. The states of Tuscany are united to the French empire, under the name of the department of the Arno, the department of the Mediterranean, and the department of the Ombrona. They shall form an indivisible portion of the French empire, from the period of the notification of the present décret.

"III. The laws which govern the French empire shall, in the department of the Arno, the Mediterranean, and the Ombrona, be made public before the 1st of January, 1809, the period from which the constitutional government for those departments shall take its commencement.

"IV. The department of the Taro, and that of the Arno, shall each have six deputies in the legislative body; the department of the Mediterranean three; and the department of the Ombrona three; which will raise the number of the members of that body to 542.

"V. The deputies of the department of the Taro shall be chosen and named without delay, and shall enter the legislative body before the session of 1809.



“ VI. The deputies of the department of the Arno, of the Mediterranean, and of the Ombrona, shall enter the legislative body before the session of 1809, &c.”

About the beginning of October, an expedition was fitted out at Naples, under the command of General Lamârque, and several other distinguished officers of the French army, against the island of Capri, which had been for three months in possession of the English. The expedition consisted of 60 transports, having on board 1,500 men, including carabineers and grenadiers of the French and Neapolitan troops and the royal guards. A frigate, a corvette, and 26 gun-boats, protected the transports. On their arrival at Capri, owing to the roughness of the sea, the French troops experienced some difficulty in effecting their landing, and which gave the English a better opportunity of placing themselves in a stronger posture of defence.

A vivid and incessant fire from the British musquetry, did not, however, avail, in opposing the disembarkation of the French troops. Those who first succeeded in getting on shore, were the royal grenadiers and Corsican chasseurs, having at their head the Adjutant Commandant Thomas. These were immediately followed by their other brave comrades, who, after they had effected their landing, found new difficulties to oppose. In the first place, it was necessary to make themselves masters of the height of Anacapri, which commands the islands, and all the forts which defend it. The French soldiers accomplished their object by climbing up the bye-ways, which seemed impracticable, and which were intersected at various distances with

fosses and intrenchments, and defended by two battalions of the Royal Maltese regiment. The latter were all made prisoners of war, and carried to Naples. Scarcely had the French taken possession of the place, than the English Commander united his remaining forces in the fortified posts of St. Michael, preserving open his communication with the sea, and waiting reinforcements. This circumstance rendered the occupation of the lower part of the island extremely important; but the communication between the Upper and Lower Capri, could only be secured by the possession of a flight of 511 steps cut in the rock, where no more than one man could descend in front, and which was defended by Fort St. Michael. Yet, under cover of the night, and under cover of some batteries hastily erected, the French troops descended by this passage. At the same time, the succour expected from England appeared on the coast, consisting of four frigates, two corvettes, four bomb-ships, 14 gun-boats, and nine transports. These forces, expected, by a close blockade of the island, to defeat the enterprize of the French, by cutting off their supply of provisions and ammunition.

His Majesty, however, anxious to provide subsistence for his army, went in person to Point Campanella, whence, observing the British squadron, obliged by the winds to keep at a distance from the shore, he ordered a few ships to attack them, which they immediately performed, with repeated cries of "Live the Emperor, Live the King." The combat was sharp, but successful; and the English had the mortification to see 40 transports arrive

at the island, and all the provision and ammunition with which they were freighted safely landed.

Having dismantled the English forts, they were compelled to surrender prisoners of war to the victorious arms of the French, though it is a circumstance highly honourable to the former, to acknowledge, that they distinguished themselves in a most gallant manner, and that the numbers were equal in this contest on both sides. The recapture of this island, has occasioned no small exultation on the part of the French, since it was effected no less by the activity of their marine, than by the valour of their land forces.

We shall now return to the series of our Narrative. On the 4th of November, Buonaparté set out from Bayonne, to take upon him the personal command and direction of his army in Spain. The Emperor was desirous to perform this journey *in cog*; but he could not long remain concealed from the inquisitive eye of his faithful subjects, who every where greeted him with the cries of "Long live Napoleon." Before he quitted Paris, he had dispatched considerable reinforcements to the frontiers of Spain, that by their means he might more speedily conquer this country, and crown his brother Joseph once more as its sovereign, at Madrid. On the 8th, he reached Vittoria, bringing with him about 12,000 men. The head-quarters of the French army had, for some time previous to the arrival of the French Emperor, been fixed at Vittoria. The corps of the Duke of Cornegliano was posted at Rafalla, the left wing of his army having its position along the banks of the Arragon, and the Ebro. The division of the Duke of Echlingen

was at Guardia. The Duke of Istria was at Miranda, while part of his corps formed the garrison of Fort Pancuba. The heights of Durango were occupied by the division of General Merlin, and guarded the heights of Mondragon from the threatened attack of the Spaniards. The centre army of the Patriots, commanded by Castanos, had quitted its former position on the line of the Ebro, and was concentrated on the left bank of the smaller river Alagon, extending itself from Villafranca to Sangüessa. The advantage of this new position, was to interpose a barrier between the French army at Navarre, and their troops in the citadel of Barcelona, as well as to cover the important province of Arragon, and to impede any attempts they might make to penetrate to Madrid. By this improved position Castanos was still enabled to rest the right wing of his army on the left wing of the army of Palafox, while their joint forces occupied a strong position on the left wing of the French. The army of Blake, in Biscay, was stationed on the right wing of the French. The army of Estramadura, with the expected assistance from England, under Generals Sir John Moore, and Sir David Baird, opposed itself to the French. The army of Blake was estimated, before the junction of the Marquis de Romana, at 23,000 men. The conjoined army of Castanos and Palafox, at nearly 60,000 men, and the army of Estramadura at 20,000 men. Such were the distribution of the French and Spanish forces within a few days of the arrival of Buonaparté in Spain. Previous, however, to the French Emperor's having reached Vittoria, several spirited actions had been fought by his Generals, and the

army of Blake wholly routed. It is not our intention, however, to detail the military operations that followed those events, which we shall reserve for the subject of another Volume, together with those still more important changes, that have taken place in Europe, more particularly in Austria, Spain, and Portugal, at the close of the last, and during the course of the present year. Our design is now to conclude with such general reflections on the views and conduct of the French Monarch, relative to his attack on the kingdom of Spain, and his resolution to conquer that country, as we flatter ourselves, from its close connection with the History now before us, will prove acceptable to our readers.

Spain was one of those Powers with whom France, under her new dynasty, could never have long remained in peace. It is natural to suppose, that Charles, and his successors, would never forego any opportunity that might offer, to avenge the blood of the Bourbons which had been shed in France, and to which the dignity of the antient crown of Spain was so nearly allied. This circumstance was, in itself, sufficient to stimulate the active jealousy of Buonaparté, who, aware of the insincere spirit, not to say actual hatred of the Court of Madrid towards his person and government, could not, at times, avoid manifesting his suspicion of its hostile views, and against the too powerful display of which he had wisely determined to be in time prepared. It is a well known fact, that whatever agents fanaticism, or superstition could employ on the part of Spain, were resorted to, in order to weaken the bonds of union between the two kingdoms. The monks and priests of

Spain, influenced by their blind rage, were constantly invoking their demi-gods or saints, to hurl destruction on the head of the French Monarch. Their zeal, indeed, afforded them but little conquest or glory, although their pious phrenzy was not in the least abated by its want of success. What, alas! must be the imbecility of that government whose chief power is committed to the hands of priests, who rely more on the efficacy of their prayers, and the intervention of miracles for national prosperity and happiness, than on the energies of a virtuous patriotism. We have before noticed, that Don Manuel Godoy, was the principal director of that state *machine*, called the *King's Veto*; who, more intent on private speculation, than on the public welfare, abused at once the confidence of his Sovereign, while his own detestable conduct served to hasten the downfall of the kingdom. Buonaparté, ever ready to avail himself of any of those popular dissensions, that can add strength to his extended empire, thought this a proper opportunity to decide at once the fate of the Sovereign, and of the Favourite. By affecting to take the part of one, he soon found means to quarrel with them both, and thereby acquired an abdication in his favour, of a crown that had for some time been rendered of little personal dignity, or public usefulness to its wearer. The fate of Charles, and of Ferdinand, may, however, be entitled to some compassion, although it cannot excite our surprise or astonishment. The Spanish nation may feel indignant at the humbled state of their Sovereigns, but it is a state to which they have been reduced, not by the treachery of Napoleon, more than by the perfidy of their own ministers, and the feeble and dissolute principles which every where pervaded the administration of public affairs in that kingdom. Nor are the disgraceful amours of the Queen, of a nature to be overlooked. Her scandalous intimacy with Godoy, has been justly punished, as well in his desertion of her, as by the contempt to which



she has since been exposed in her present more obscure retreat. Napoleon cannot, therefore, be blamed for seeking the renovation of a government which has been the author of its own ruin, although it may be asked whether the renovation he seeks is consistent with the wishes and happiness of the Spanish nation; on this point we shall only observe, that the cause of the Patriots does not, at present, seem to involve in it the cause of their exiled Sovereigns. Neither Charles nor Ferdinand seem to excite any very strong desire on the part of their subjects, that they should resume their kingly functions, since both have equally demonstrated their incapacity to govern. Yet the Patriots would prefer even those shadowy *beings of Kings*, to any sovereign Napoleon would bestow on them; more especially if that sovereign were a member of his own family, or any way subordinate to his will.

The Spanish Patriots, who feel for the true glory and independance of their country, cannot seriously regret, that the old government of Spain should be entirely done away; however they may object to accept of the new one offered to them by Buonaparté. Spain has long required the renovating hand of reform, although we are sorry to behold it, subject as it has been to all the calamities, (even during its struggles for liberty,) of intestine insurrection and division. Can the restoration of a feeble *monarchy* confer any degree of happiness on the people of Spain? Is it Ferdinand, who can bestow on them the blessings of a stable or secure government? Buonaparté may act wrong in forcing a nation to yield up its sovereignty to his will, but no nation should obstinately resist what is evidently best calculated for its benefit and interest. We do not mean to defend the measures of Napoleon in all he has done, to establish his own authority in Spain, but we would have ventured to predict, had such authority been submitted to, that it would have been attended with no *compromise* of the glory and dignity of the Spanish character. Since we are

still inclined to think, notwithstanding every exertion made by Great Britain to prevent it, that the dynasty of Spain will ultimately be placed in the hands of Buonaparté. England will then perceive that all the treasure and blood which she has so prodigally expended on the cause of the Patriots, has been wasted to no purpose; and that her arms on the continent have no chance of success.

Although we are enemies to that fulsome panegyric which seeks, on all occasions, to *idolize* the person and actions of the present Ruler of France, we cannot refuse to him the just meed of our praise as a Warrior and Statesman. His wonderful talents, and still more wonderful success, have elevated him to an eminence seldom attained even by the heroes of antiquity. His august *mind*, has borne him amidst many difficulties and dangers, and has diffused such a lustre over many of his actions, as to render him an object of admiration even to his enemies.

He has not signalized himself more as the projector of Revolutions, than as the author of national improvements. Scarcely is there any form of government now existing on the continent, that has not felt the powerful hand of his salutary correction, or yielded its entire fate to his guidance. He has afforded many useful lessons to Sovereigns, not, indeed, by despoiling them of their crowns, but by instructing them in the art of securing the affections and loyalty of their subjects, and of which he is certainly an example in the extensive empire over which he reigns. But with many great and extraordinary qualities, he is not without some superlative vices. His inordinate ambition and thirst of fame, cannot fail, occasionally, to sink him to acts of despotism and injustice; and we have still to lament, that his darling passion for *universal empire*, seems, in spite of the many harvests he has already reaped, to be as insatiable as ever.

END OF VOL. VII.

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